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THE SĒUNAS  
(THE YĀDAVAS OF DĒVAGIRI)



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## PREFACE

The history of the Sēūnas, better known as the Yādavas (Dēvagiri is a sort of lacuna in the history of the Medieval India. Occupying a major portion of the Deccan, the Sēūnas played a significant role in the history of that part of the country. Their country being a gateway as it were to South India, had naturally to fall the first victim to the onslaughts of the Muhammadan invaders, who by subduing it, gained free access to the Southern kingdoms. Thus the story of the Sēūnas who, starting their political career as petty chiefs, rose to pre-eminence of imperial monarchs, had a sad end as was perhaps the fate of almost all the principal dynasties of Medieval India.

Not much has been done in the study of this dynasty. In fact, the whole of the history of the Deccan itself has not been dealt with in full. Since the third century B.C. when the historical period of this plateau may be said to have begun, the Deccan had witnessed the rise and fall of many a kingdom which did not restrict itself, either in extent or influence, to the Deccan alone but extended far beyond towards the North as well as the South, thus playing an important role in Indian history. Indeed, it was the lack of historical material then that prompted Vincent Smith to remark that the history of the kingdoms of the Deccan plateau, between the Narmadā, Kṛishṇā and Tungabhadra are of local interest and cannot attract the attention of the outer world. But the vast epigraphic material which has been brought to light in subsequent years. It is thus that the history of the ~~dynasties of the Deccan is~~ any of "

Published works on the History of Deccan are not many. Dynasties of Kanarese Districts by Fleet and The Early History of the Deccan by Bhandarkar, both of which form parts of the Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I, Part II, are the only notable works wherein we find an account of its political history. But written as they were more than sixty years ago, these works now require to be revised in the light of the substantial basic material that has since come to light, though even today these monumental accounts serve as the best reference works. To these may be added Rice's Mysore And Coorg From Inscriptions but the scope of that work is limited. Later, a laudable attempt was made to give an authentic account of the history, mainly political, of the Deccan by the veteran Epigraphists, N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Pancharukhi, through their Kannada work Karnāṭakada Arasu-manetanagalu. But, unfortunately, only the first part of the work covering the period upto the 8th century A.D. has ~~been~~ been published. A more recent work in the field is A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. But as the work aims to narrate the history of the whole of South India, an exhaustive treatment of the Deccan has naturally been beyond its scope. The Early History Of The Deccan in two Volumes, edited by Yazdani and published recently, contains an account of the principal dynasties of the Deccan except the Hoysalas. Though the publication of this work of recent date, the compilation was done much earlier and as such it cannot claim to be up-to-date.

Some of the individual dynasties that ruled over this part of the country have also been dealt with by ~~some~~ scholars. The Gangas

of Talkād by M.V. Krishna Rao deals with the history of the so <sup>rn</sup> parts of the present Mysore State. Kadamba-kula of G.M. Mores<sup>a</sup> purposes to give an account of the history of the early and medieval Kadambas of the Deccan. The detailed history of the Bādāmi and Kal-yāṇa houses of the Chālukyas, which were the most prominent of the ruling powers that held sway over the Deccan and beyond, has yet to be put in print. A thesis on the former family is reported to have been produced long back for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy but no work on the subject has been published so far. A detailed study of the latter family upto 1076 A.D. has been the subject of a thesis by B.R. Gopal and is yet to be published. A history of the Rāshṭra-kūṭas who were in power during the interval of about two centuries between the two Chālukya houses, is given by A.S. Altekar in his Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times. The history of the Kalachuris, which, though short, is important from the point of view of the cultural history of the Deccan has been treated by P.B. Desai in his Kannada contribution Karnāṭakada Kalachurigaḷu published in Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrike, Volumes 36 and 37. An account of the Hoysaḷas, who next came to power in the southern part of the Deccan, is given by Coelho and Derrett in their Hoysaḷa-vaṃsa and The Hoysaḷas respectively.

Coming to the Sēūnas who, simultaneously with the Hoysaḷas rose to eminence in the Northern Deccan, we may observe that the dynasty is not given the attention that it deserves. Except for some stray articles on one or the other aspect of their history published in Oriental Journals, no work presenting a detailed history of the family has so far been published.

A thesis on the history of the Sēūna dynasty entitled The



Yādavas of Dēvagiri was prepared by G.N. Saletore, as early as in 1943. This work also ~~is not~~ remains unpublished. On a perusal of the work kindly kept at my disposal by the Librarian of the Bombay University during my short stay at Bombay, I found that though an attempt was made in the work to collect the available material and give an exhaustive account of all the aspects of the family, there was ample scope to make a fresh study of the subject in the light of new material<sup>s</sup> discovered subsequently necessitating a re-study of the material already known.

In the course of my study of this subject, I have utilised all the available material collected up-to-date. Most of the epigraphical records which form the main source of the work, have not been published and I have made a first hand study of all these records, with an endeavour to present for the first time, many new facts regarding the history of the Sēūpas. While so doing I have often referred to the views of many scholars who have worked in the field and sometimes I have differed from them too, but with due respect for their scholarship. I may also add that I do not claim that all the conclusions I have arrived at are infalliable but I humbly submit that I have based these conclusions on facts which justify them.

Chapter I describes as an introduction, the political conditions prevailing at the time when the Sēūpas were fast making <sup>(a)</sup>headway towards attaining imperial status. Section I of Chapter II deals with problems regarding the origin of the family and herein an attempt has <sup>also</sup> been made to reconstruct the genealogy ~~also~~. Section II gives the political career of the early members from Sēūpachandra I. to Mallugi II. Chapter III, Section I, details out the successful

struggle of Bhīllama V to rise to the status <sup>in</sup> ~~of~~ an independent g.  
The career of his son Jaitugi I is described in Section II. The long rule of Singhana II when the Sēūna glory rose to its zenith forms the subject of Chapter IV. Chapter V deals with the reigns of Kannara and Mahādēva, the grandsons of Singhana. The succession of Āmana, the son of Mahādēva and his consequent dethronement and assassination by Kannara's son Rāmachandra who next became the king and the latter's political career are discussed in Chapter VI. With the last days of Rāmachandra the history of the Sēūna<sup>S</sup> - and of South India - entered <sup>into</sup> ~~a~~ new phase. For the first time the Muslim armies found their way into the Deccan and further South through the Sēūna land. Chapter VII contains a description of these Muslim invasions of the Sēūna country and their consequences. Chapter VIII sums up the political career of the Sēūna kings with an attempt to assess the possible reasons for their fall.

Chapter IX endeavours to give a picture of the administrative system and economic conditions in the Sēūna kingdom. Some aspects of social life and the prevailing religious systems are discussed in Chapter X. Chapter XI deals briefly with the educational institutions and literature of the Sēūna period. One might expect here a Chapter on Art and Architecture of the period, but I have chosen to omit it. Though with the end of the Chālukya rule, the glorious period of building activity was over and not many new or significant contributions were made in the days that followed, the activity did continue and in the Sēūna land too. Numerous epigraphical records and the existing monuments are a testimony to it. In fact, during the later days of the Sēūna rule, the building art received an impetus from the scholar-minister Hēmadri so much so that many temples came to be known after him as Hēmadpanti, a term used, though not strictly, to indicate a style of architecture. A study of th

Date of Accession - Military Activities -

Clash with the Hoysaḷas - War with the

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## CHAPTER I

### I N T R O D U C T I O N

#### Political Scene of the Deccan Before Bhīllama V

The latter half of the twelfth century was a period of confusion and conflict in the political history of the Deccan. The power of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa who were holding sway over this table land for over two centuries was <sup>in</sup> the wane, thus allowing the opportunist elements to flout the authority of their overlords and establish themselves as independent rulers. Foremost among such ambitious chiefs were the Kalachuryas, the Hoysaḷas and the Sēūṇas. With the usurpation of the Chālukya throne by Kalachurya Bijjala who wrested it from Taila III, came came the end of the Chālukya dynasty, though the Kalachuryas themselves could not hold for long. Somēśvara IV, the son of Taila III, succeeded in ousting the usurpers and regain<sup>ing</sup> the lost glory, but his success was short lived. The reasons for this state of affairs were various. Sōmēśvara was a weak ruler and though some of the old feudatories of the family stood by him in establishing his sovereignty, it was difficult for him to check the inroads of Sēūṇa Bhīllama on the northern border and <sup>of</sup> Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa on the southern.

Kalachurya Bijjala, who was responsible for raising the Kalachurya family to the status of an imperial power, was an ambitious prince. As mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, he was a chief of importance in the Chālukya administration. He was also related to the ruling family by matrimonial alliance and this must have provided him with many advantages, raising also his prestige in the royal court. Jōgama, the grandfather of Bijjala, had given in marriage his daugh-



ter <sup>Sāva</sup>Chandaladēvi to Vikramāditya VI and Chandaladēvi's daughter was married to Permādi, the father of Bijjala. <sup>1</sup> Thus related by blood to the monarchs, he must have been enjoying special privileges in the kingdom. Being a feudatory chief since the days of Jagadēkamalla II, who was almost of his own age, and having continued to be so under the latter's son Taila III, who was much younger than him, Bijjala apparently had had a full grasp over the affairs of the kingdom and this helped him in strengthening his position. That he was considering himself practically independent even during the reign of Taila is known from the fact that many of the prasastis in his records omit the title mahāmandalēśvara, <sup>title</sup> indicative of his subordinate position, while others ascribe <sup>to</sup> him the epithets Bhujabalamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, Bhujabala-chakravarti and the like, <sup>titles</sup> usually associated with independent rulers. Moreover, the defeat of Taila at the hands of Kākatiya Prōla II in about 1155 A.D. <sup>2</sup> must have given this prince considerable encouragement, <sup>3</sup> whereupon taking advantage of the weakness of the Chālukya he declared himself independent in the very next year <sup>4</sup> though it took <sup>him</sup> a few more years to consolidate his power and establish the Kalachurya kingdom at

1 Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Vol.36, p.130.

2 Annakonda inscription of Kākatiya Rudra (Indian Antiquary, Vol.XI, pp.12 ff.) Dr. M. Ramarao has tried to refute this and show that this Taila was different and that the fight between him and Prōla took place between 1122 and 1127 A.D. when the former was only a prince. The Kākatiyas of Warangal, pp.40 ff.

3 It has been surmised that Prōla helped Kalachurya Bijjala in dethroning Taila III. <sup>Bhandarkar</sup> The Early History of Deccan, Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol.III, p.125.

4 Some inscriptions tend to show that Bijjala commenced his

Kalyāṇa, the royal seat of his former overlords.

But this ill-gotten sovereignty of Bijjala was to vanish pretty soon. His sons were not as farsighted as himself. While Sōmēśvara IV, the son of Taila III, was ~~also~~ trying to regain power, many of the chieftains owing allegiance to the Chālukyas were reluctant to accept the overlordship of the Kalachuryas and ~~so~~ were ready to assist their former master. Moreover, in the Kalachurya house itself the conditions were not quite alright. For reasons unknown, Bijjala had to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Sōvidēva. This, perhaps, displeased Bijjala's younger brother Mailugi and grandson Karna (son of Vajradēva, elder brother of Sōvidēva) who appear to have revolted against Sōvidēva. One of the latter's records alludes to the fact that his general Mādhava ~~had to~~ put down the revolution and kill <sup>5</sup> Karna.

Nor was Sōvidēva's reign peaceful. While he had to put down the revolt <sup>5</sup> of Mailugi and Karna even his own younger brothers Mallikārjuna and Sankama ~~successfully~~ asserted their claim to the throne during his later years. <sup>6</sup> Sankama was succeeded by Bijjala's fifth son Āhavamalla. The reigns of these last three princes were uneventful. The Kalachurya hold on the territory was fast loosening while Chālukya Sōmēśvara was busy consolidating his power. The valiant general Barma, son of Kāvāṇa, who owed allegiance to the independent rule as early as <sup>17</sup> 1153 A.D. See Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy, 1938-39, Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions, No.50. For <sup>7</sup> discussion on this point see KSPP, Vol.37, pp.85-86.

5 Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XXVIII, p.28<sup>7</sup>.

6 K.S.P.P., Vol.37, p.105.

Kalachuryas, broke away from them and joined the Chālukya prince. The result was the eclipsing of the Kalachurya authority and the revival of the Chālukya supremacy.

Though we find many inscriptions which count the regnal years of Sōmēśvara from 1182 A.D.<sup>7</sup> the change over, appears to have been complete ~~only~~ by 1184 A.D. But this, by itself, did not quieten the disturbed political atmosphere. By this time Sēūna Bhīllama was boldly trying to assert himself, by entering into clashes with Sōmēśvara.<sup>8</sup> Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II in the Southern region had also grown strong and had always an eye on the fertile land beyond the Tungabhadra. It appears that the other feudatories also were not of much help to the Chālukya prince. So, abandoning the erstwhile capital of Kalyāṇa from where he ruled hardly for few years, Sōmēśvara had to retire to Jayantīpura in about 1186 A.D., the seat of his trusted subordinates, the Kadambas, from where he is reported to ~~be~~ <sup>have</sup> ruling for some time more. Depth of his records appears to indicate that during this period he almost retired from political activities, though we know that he was still alive as late<sup>as</sup> in 1200 A.D.<sup>9</sup> This encouraged both the Sēūnas and the Hoysaḷas to claim the Chālukya territory and on that count<sup>to</sup> fight bloody battles. This enmity continued almost till the end of both the dynasties.

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<sup>7</sup> See for instance, A.R.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K.No.68; Ibid. 1926-27, B.K.No.40.

<sup>8</sup> Some inscriptions of Sōmēśvara state that either he or his general Barma subdued Bhīllama. See e.g. A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.207, Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1959-60, No.448.

<sup>9</sup> Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol.XI, Cd.36; Ind.Ant., Vol.XLVIII, p.5.

The position of the feudatories during this period, i.e. the fall of the Chālukyas and the rise of the Sēūnas, was also quite uncertain. <sup>The presence of</sup> quite a few records which <sup>either</sup> do not mention any overlord or mention one or the other in a conflicting way, indicate the state of uncertainty and confusion that reigned during the period.

Like the Kalachuryas, the Hoysalas too began their political career as feudatories of the Chālukyas and as opportunities arose gained greater strength, and ultimately established themselves as an imperial power. They held sway over <sup>the southern part of the Chālukya territory</sup> that area, simultaneously with the Sēūnas, upto the time of the Muslim invasions which swept away all the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan.

The Hoysala history can be traced back to the beginning of the 11th century A.D. It is only after the second quarter of that century that the family came to prominence during the time of the first king Vinayāditya (1047 A.D. to 1098 A.D.). Starting his career as the ruler of the province of Gangavādi under the Chālukya emperor, this prince slowly strengthened himself in the surrounding areas. He assisted his overlord Sōmēśvara II in subduing the Paramāra king by sending his troops headed by his son Ereyanga. But in the feud between Sōmēśvara II and his younger but enterprising brother Vikramāditya VI, Ereyanga sided with the latter and became instrumental in wresting the reins of government from Sōmēśvara. It is interesting to note however that this Hoysala subordination to the Chālukyas, which continued till the period of Ballāla II as

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10 D.C.Ganguly: History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp.127-28.  
Derrett: The Hoysalas, p.31.

11 Coelho: The Hoysala-vamśa, p.50.

can be seen from the activities of the Hoysala prince, was merely nominal. Vinayāditya's grandson Ballāḷa I (1102-1108 A.D.) and more notably the latter's younger brother Vishṇuvardhana openly questioned the authority of the Chālukyas by raiding the territories of ~~the latter's~~<sup>the latter's</sup> feudatories. Frequent clashes of the army of Vishṇuvardhana with ~~that~~<sup>those</sup> of the feudatories like the Kadambas and the Pāṇdyas of Uchchangi and the victories — though temporary — of the former are indicative of the growing strength of the Hoysalas even during the reign of Vikramāditya VI himself.

Encouraged by such victories, Vishṇuvardhana ventured to lead the army against ~~the~~ Vikramāditya VI himself in 1122 A.D.<sup>12</sup> But his enthusiasm was curbed by the emperor's trusted feudatory, the Sinda chief Āchugi II, who successfully met the Hoysala army. The death of Vikramāditya naturally inspired the Hoysala chief to renew his hostilities in the Chālukya land across the Tungabhadra. He once again led a campaign against the Chālukya king, this time Jagadēka-<sup>13</sup> mallā II. Once again he was repulsed by the Sinda chief Permādi I, son of Āchugi II. A number of records of this Hoysala prince<sup>14</sup> boast however of his having led the army up to the river Krishṇā in whose waters he is said to have 'washed his horse'. Yet the Hoysala country had to wait for some more time till the day the resourceful Ballāḷa II<sup>15</sup> declared independence.

The rule of Narasimha I, the father of Ballāḷa<sup>II</sup>, was not so impressive as that of his <sup>son,</sup> nor as ambitious as that of his ~~son~~ father.

12 Coelho: Op.cit., p.91.

13 Ibid., p.92.

14 Gadag Inscription of Ballāḷa. (Ep. Ind Vol. III, p 95, v 15)

In fact Narasimha had splendid opportunities to push himself further north into the Chālukya territory which was <sup>an</sup> ambition cherished by his father. But being less imaginative and less resourceful, he let <sup>as</sup> ~~go~~ many <sup>of them</sup> ~~such~~. His son Ballāla, fired with ambition as he was, could not let go the chance. He gathered his trusted allies round him and even pushed aside his own father from the throne and himself wielded the reins of government to attain what his father could not. <sup>15</sup> It was to his credit that the Hoysāla-nāḍ, till then however nominal it ~~be~~<sup>was</sup> a part of Chālukya empire, became an <sup>long cherished</sup> independent kingdom and thus the ~~long~~ dream of his grandfather, at last realised.

Ballāla lost no time in reconquering the territories once won by Vishnuvardhana. But, however, he did not flout the Chālukya suzerainty all at once. He did recognise the overlordship of Sōmēśvara IV <sup>16</sup> who had <sup>by</sup> then staged a come back by putting down the Kalachuryas. But this was perhaps a political gesture of his appreciation more of the overthrow of the Kalachuryas <sup>rather of</sup> than the Chālukya's reappearance. Soon came the downfall of the Chālukyas and Ballāla was no <sup>more</sup> ~~was~~ under the yoke of an overlord. But, for him, attaining independence was not all. Like his grandfather he was also an expansionist and the trans-Tungabhadra districts of the former Chālukya empire were always an attraction for him. To bring them under his

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15 Coelho: Op.cit., pp.134-35.

16 Ep.Carn., Vol.XII, Ck.13. This inscription refers to the king as Jagadēkamalla Permāḍi. But the date of the record shows that the king then was Sōmēśvara IV.

sway however was not an easy thing; because at the same time Sēūṇa Bhillama was struggling in the north to achieve the same end.

Sēūṇa Bhillama V could not close his eyes to these changing conditions in the Chālukya empire. He had already moved southwards and sitting somewhere in the northern border of that territory he must have been watching with interest the developments there, apparently biding time. Not much evidence is forthcoming to throw light on his activities in this direction. But it is clear that he was busily engaged in fighting his way through, ~~at~~ at least during the last days of the Kalachuryas and the days of Sōmēśvara IV. His epithets Kalachuri-rāyasella, Kalachur<sup>ur</sup>ya-kulāgni-haḍavāṇala and the like indicate that he had to fight with the Kalachuryas, and apparently successfully. His predecessor Mallugi and himself are credited with victories over Bijjala II and Bijjala III respectively of that family. Some of the records of Sōmēśvara IV show that he had clashes with Bhillama also but the latter could not succeed in his endeavours. Thanks to his famous general Barma, Sōmēśvara was able to put him down. Bhillama must have ~~been~~ engaged <sup>himself</sup> in such hostile activities, ~~obviously~~ with an intention to occupy the Chālukya territory as a rival to the Kalachuryas and the Hoysalas, sometime before 1184 A.D.<sup>17</sup>

Bhillama's predecessors who were also the subordinates of the Chālukyas ~~usually~~ actively co-operated with the latter. They assisted their overlords in waging successful wars against the Paramāra kings. One of them was connected with the Chālukya through

8  
17 See foot note 8 above.

matrimonial alliance. Nevertheless their relations did not seem <sup>18</sup> to ~~be~~ <sup>have been</sup> always cordial. Vague references to the subduing of the Sēūnas by the Chālukyas seem to show that the former, whenever an opportunity arose, tried to bypass the authority of the master though such efforts were rendered futile by the latter. But It was their worthy descendant Bhīllama<sup>19</sup> who finally succeeded in this direction.

When the Sēūna power was on the rise, the Paramāra supremacy was heading towards decline. By that time, the glorious days of Vākpati Muñja and Bhōja the great<sup>20</sup> had gone. After the latter's death sometime before 1056 A.D., Paramāra dominions fell a prey to the ~~stomachs~~ of Kalachuris of Tripura and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. But, if Bilhana's statement is to be accepted,<sup>19</sup> the Paramāra authority was soon revived by Bhōja's successor Jayasīṃha with the assistance of the Western Chālukya emperor. But this cordial relation between the two dynasties did not continue long. In the fight between Chālukya Sōmēśvara II and his younger brother Vikramāditya VI, Jayasīṃha sided with the latter which enraged Sōmēśvara, resulting in a military campaign by him which proved to be fatal to Jayasīṃha.<sup>20</sup> His successor Udayāditya, a scion of the royal family,

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18 For instance Nāgavarma, a general of Sōmēśvara I is credited with 'burning the Sēūna country' (A.R.I.E. 1933-59, No. B 193). Also Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 88, line 15 and South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 204.

19 Vikramāṅkadēva-charita, III, 67.

20 D.C. Ganguly: Op. cit., pp. 127-28.



however, succeeded in pushing back the Chaulukyas and the Chālukyas and strove hard to bring back Mālava to its prēstine glory. The kings who next came to power were not ~~so~~ able ones and the ~~few~~ frequent raids, particularly of the Chaulukyas<sup>so</sup>, weakened their position ~~so much~~ that, in the end, Mālava was annexed to the Chaulukya dominions.

But during the latter part of the 12th century, Vindhya-varman tried to revive the Paramāra independence by taking advantage of the weakness of the Chaulukya contemporaries. But invasions<sup>y</sup> after invasions, by the neighbouring powers as also by the Muslims very much weakened the successors and their efforts to retain the authority were all rendered futile.

Paramāras were the traditional enemies of the Chālukyas and neither lost a single chance of attacking the other. In such military p<sup>u</sup>rsuits the Sēūpas, ~~even~~ as vassals of the Chālukyas, helped their overlords. But with the fall of the Chālukyas, the enmity did not die. Sēūpas, the successors to the Chālukya territory, continued their fight with the Paramāras for generations, till finally, both the dynasties were wiped out of existence by the onslaughts of the Muslim conquerors.

The conditions in the dominions of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat were almost similar. Having once reached the heights of glory during the days of Jayasīṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla (1143-1172 A.D.), Gujarat was now slowly losing its importance. Invasions by Muslims as well as by neighbouring <sup>rulers</sup> kingdoms were becoming more frequent. The reign of Ajayapāla, successor of Kumārapāla (1172-1175 A.D.) was a very short and un-

eventful one. But it was to the credit of his son Mūlarāja II (1175-1178 A.D.) that the Muslim invader<sup>c</sup> Mu'uzz-ud-Dīn could not conquer Gujarat.<sup>21</sup> But this war had its own adverse effects.

Taking advantage of ~~such~~<sup>the</sup> a situation, Paramāra Vindhya-varman tried to free his country, which was for long under the subjugation of the Chaulukyas. But his efforts failed since the brave Chaulukya general Kumāra made him flee from the battle-field.<sup>22</sup> But soon during the reign of the next Chaulukya, viz. Bhīma II (1178-1241 A.D.), the Paramāra's ambition was fulfilled and his son Subhata-varman was in so strong a position as to attack Gujarat. Bhīma's reign was not peaceful. It had again to sustain another fierce attack by the Muslim invader Qutb-ud-Dīn.<sup>23</sup>

The political upheaval in the South also had its effects on Gujarat. Though the Chālukya sovereignty fell, the danger of attacks from that side did not cease. The rival claimants to the Chālukya dominion, the Sēūnas and the Hoysalas, while fighting amongst themselves, tried to turn their weapons, now and then against the Gūrjaras also. Though the Hoysala menace was not so ~~much~~<sup>strong</sup>, the Sēūnas repeatedly led their campaigns against them and this rivalry continued till both the dynasties became extinct.

Inside the Chaulukya country also, the atmosphere was not calm. Encouraged by the frequent foreign raids and the consequent

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21 A.K.Mujumdar: Chaulukyas of Gujarat, pp.131<sup>5</sup> ff.

22 Ibid., pp.136-37.

23 Ibid., pp.141 ff.

preoccupation of the king, the feudatories also tried to benefit themselves by the situation.<sup>24</sup> But ~~it was~~ at the right juncture, the Vāghēlā chiefs, the trusted generals of the Chaulukyas, appeared on the scene and warded off the evils that were threatening to eclipse the kingdom. Arnōrāja of this family, who was a faithful subordinate chief under Kumārapāla, put down the dissident feudatories and his son and grandson Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavalā helped Bhīma in regaining the Chaulukya throne which was for a short time <sup>25</sup> usurped by a certain Jayasīṃha. The part played by these chiefs in the later history of the Chaulukyas is very important. They saved the Gūrjara country from attacks from the neighbouring powers among whom were Sēūnas also. During <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ last years, ~~of~~ Bhīma ~~he~~ entrusted them with the administration of the country and after the short and insignificant rule of Bhīma's successor Tribhuvanapāla, the Chaulukya kingdom fell in <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ hands of Vīradhavalā's son Visaladēva.

On the Eastern border, the Kākatīyas were active in building an empire of their own. Originally feudatory chiefs, they began as rulers of a small territory in the beginning of the 11th century. Following the decline of the Eastern Chālukya power, whose suzerainty they had accepted, the Kākatīyas tried to be independent of foreign yoke. But they could not escape <sup>the</sup> overlordship of the Western Chālukyas, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> then strongest power in the Deccan. Prōla I (1050-1075 A.D.) the second ruling member of the Kākatīya family, was actively assisting the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I and apparently as an

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24 Ibid., p.139.

25 Ibid., pp.160 ff.

appreciation of such deeds, the latter bestowed upon him the rulership of the division called Annakonḍa-vishaya.<sup>26</sup> Bōta II, son and successor of Prōla I, continued to be a vassal of the Chālukya king, though it appears that he did try to take advantage of the rift between Vikramāditya VI and his elder brother Sōmēśvara II, by siding the latter. But <sup>ultimately</sup> he had to ~~ultimately~~ submit to the victor, Vikramāditya, and that any way was not without a reward. The emperor<sup>27</sup> entrusted to him the rulership of the division Sabbi 1000. His successor Prōla II was a more powerful chief and the circumstances too were favourable to him. Aware of the changing conditions in the dominion of Taila III, whose position had become quite delicate mainly on account of the revolutionary chief Kalachurya Bijjala, Prōla emboldened himself <sup>and</sup> to challenge his overlord, ~~himself~~. He<sup>28</sup> succeeded in defeating him. This gave him an opportunity to declare himself independent. He might as well have aspired to stretch his arm into the land of the Chālukyas whose scion he was. But, apparently the other claimants to the same territory, the Sēūnas and the Hoysalas, were too strong for him to overcome. That his son Rudradēva (1156-96 A.D.) ~~attempted~~ tried in this direction is indicated by his Annakonḍa inscription which marks Kalyāṇa as the western boundary of his kingdom. Soon, however, the Kākatīyas had to face the Sēūnas who had occupied the northern portion of the Chālukya territory. The enmity between the two families continued till the end, as was the case with other families also.

26 Kākatīya Saṁchika, App. Inscription No.1.

27 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p.263, verse 3.

28 See footnote 2 above.

Such in brief was the political situation in the Deccan and the neighbourhood. The older dynasties were on the decline and the new and ambitious chiefs were striving to come forward. Prominent among <sup>these</sup> ~~such~~ were the Sēūnas, who by dint of their prowess, were able to build a vast empire occupying almost all <sup>of</sup> the Deccan from the Narmadā down below the Tungabhadra. But the beginning of the 14th century brought bad days when the heat wave of the invasions of the treasure-hungry Muslims was sweeping through the country. The Sēūnas, situated as their country was, as though a gateway to the further South of India, had to become the first victims of the onslaught of these invaders, using which as a spring <sup>g.</sup> board, they ransacked all the other southern Hindu kingdoms. Thus the ~~xxx~~ story of the Sēūnas, who rose from petty chieftainship to regal power ended in a tragedy as was the case with almost all the other ruling families. This story though tragic in the end is <sup>a</sup> quite fascinating <sup>story</sup> and it is worthwhile <sup>to</sup> knowing it from the beginning.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BEGINNINGS

#### I Origin and Genealogy

##### a. Origin:

Who were the Sēūnas and where did they come from? This is a vexed question indeed. Neither inscriptions nor other sources are of direct help to us in determining these points.

The Sēūnas are commonly known as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. But it was not exclusively they alone that were known as the Yādavas nor was Dēvagiri associated with them from the beginning, so as to be called after that place. A general tendency ~~that is~~ found with the medieval kingships is that they usually claimed their descent either from the Moon or the Sun or <sup>Some</sup> ~~any~~ mythical or legendary hero. The reason for such a tendency might be that the author of such a <sup>ies</sup> genealogy might not have been in the real knowledge of the origin of the particular family, <sup>The probable</sup> ~~and none then that the~~ intention was to give the family a touch of antiquity and associate it with the importance attached with ~~the~~ legendary ancestor.

The Sēūnas are no exception to this. They profess to belong to Sōmavāṁsa<sup>1</sup> or the lunar race and claim their descent from the famous Yadu in that race,<sup>2</sup> whereby they came to be known as the Yādavas. On account of Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa of that race, the Sēūnas

1 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.79; Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Ci., 21-22 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sb. 427.

2 For the Purāṇic genealogy of that race see Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 102. ff.

felt proud in calling themselves as being born in his family and they bore the title Vishnu-vaṁśōdbhava<sup>3</sup>. Naturally also, they associated themselves with Dvārāvati or Dvārakā, the capital of the mythical hero, through their title Dvārāvati puravarādhīvara. Some inscriptions also <sup>describe as</sup> ~~call~~ them Vrishni-vaṁśōdbhava. But as pointed above, it is not this dynasty alone that claimed its origin from the mythical Yadu. In fact, <sup>quite a</sup> number of the ruling dynasties of medieval India took back their ancestry to this hero. For instance, the Rāshtrakūṭas, whose vassals the Sēūnas were, also trace their origin to Yadu and the mythical genealogy found in their records is similar to the one found in <sup>the</sup> ~~these~~ of the Sēūnas. Certain Chōla kings claim to belong to the Yādava race.<sup>5</sup> Some kings of Kērala also bore the title Yādava-nārāyaṇa.<sup>6</sup> Of the minor families, while the Pāṇdyas of Uchchangī claim to have belonged to Yadu kula,<sup>7</sup> the Chengālvās associate themselves with the city of Dvārāvati.<sup>8</sup> Some (and are called Yādavas.)

3 Deoras considers Vishnu, to whom the Sēūnas trace their origin, as 'historical ruler from Dvārakā'. His main argument for the conjecture is that 'no other ruling families have claimed descent from Vishnu'. But we know that Hoysalas also call themselves Vishnu-vaṁśōdbhava. This Vishnu is the mythical godhead and not 'the last king of Dvārakā', nor is <sup>the</sup> ~~Dridhaprahāra~~ <sup>nda</sup> actual descent (Indica, p.85 and n). The fact that some inscriptions record the title as Vrishnivaṁśōdbhava instead of Vishnuvaṁśōdbhava also shows that Vishnu was not a historical ruler.

4 See for instance S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.68.

5 Cf. Ind.Ant., Vol.XXXVIII, p.87.

6 Cf. Ep.Ind., Vol.IV, p.147, line 5.

7 See for instance Ep.Carn., Vol.III, p.63, No.11, Dg.41.

8 Ibid., Vol.IV, Yd.26; Hs. 63.

of the northern dynasties also trace their origin to this race. The Varmans and Sēnas of Bengal may be mentioned as examples. But the most striking similarity in the descent and titles is found with the Hoysaḷas, the neighbours and political rivals of the Sēūnas. The former also call themselves Yādavanārāyaṇa or Yādava-vamśōdbhava and Dvārāvati-pura-varādhīśvara. There is hardly any difference between the mythical genealogy of the two families. But it is a known fact that this ancestry of the Hoysaḷas is just legendary and that they were an indigenous dynasty of Karnāṭaka. The Yādava origin of the Sēūnas will have also to be explained likewise. Moreover, though the majority of the Sēūna inscriptions call the family as Yādava and not Sēūna, it is clear from <sup>some of</sup> their own ~~other~~ records and those of other dynasties, that the <sup>precise</sup> ~~proper~~ name of the family was Sēūna and not ~~just~~ Yādava. In fact Hoysaḷa inscriptions invariably call them Sēūnas apparently to distinguish the latter from themselves as both claimed to be Yādavas; and in some records the term Yādava stands <sup>9</sup> for Hoysaḷas and not Sēūnas.

As though to corroborate with this Yādava origin, some of the early inscriptions associate a member of this family — whose historicity is not ~~any~~ beyond doubt — with Dvārāvati. The earliest record of this type is the recently discovered Dēvalāli plates,<sup>10</sup>

9 An inscription from Tripurāntakam enumerates the conquests of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, thus: "..... yādava-bala-laladhi-bada-vānala-konkaṇa-ṛaṇāmkana-bhayaṃkara-Sēvaṇa-ṛaṇa-bhīṣṇa....." S.I.I., Vol.IX, Part I, No.204. Here the term Yādava does not mean Sēūna since the latter also is separately mentioned as Sēūna. The only other Yādava whom Vikramāditya might have subdued was the Hoysaḷa.



dated Śaka 934 and the same account is found in Bassein<sup>11</sup> and Kavi<sup>12</sup> plates of Śaka 991 and Śaka 1020 respectively. The Dēvalāli plates state that Dṛiḍhaprahāra, the first king of the family migrated<sup>13</sup> from the city of Dvārāvātī and 'made famous' Chandrādityapura. This may mean that Dṛiḍhaprahāra made Chandrādityapura his capital.

Another<sup>14</sup> tradition is record<sup>ed</sup> in the Nāsika kalpa of Jinaprabhāsūri which purports to say the same thing. It runs as follows: "Now when the sage Divāna (Sk. Dviyāna) burnt Bārāvai (Dvārāvātī) and when the Yādava dynasty was on the point of being exterminated the sage respectfully rescued from the flames of the burning city the pregnant wife of the Yādava Kshatriya Vajrakumāra. She came and lived under the <sup>fuge</sup>regie (i.e. in the temple) of Chandraprabhasvāmin (the eighth Tirthaṅkara). When her burthen was mature she gave birth to a son in the Kuntivihāra. He was named Daḍhapahāra (Dṛiḍhaprahāra) and when he came of age he grew a mighty warrior, able single handed to fight a hundred thousand combatants. It so happened at one time that thieves stole away (the village) kine; and Daḍhapahāra triumphing over the thieves brought them back. The brāhmaṇa and the other inhabitants of the city finding in him a great hero gave him Talāraghaya. Subsequently Daḍhapahāra punished the robbers and became a great king. In that city the Yādava dynasty took root once more and with great respect they repaired the temple of Chandraprabhasvāmin."

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11 Ind.Ant., Vol.XII, pp.119 ff.

12 E.I.S.M.Quarterly, Vol.III, pp.1 ff.

13 Op.cit., verse 2.

14 Ind.Ant., Vol.XII, p.124.

Dr̥idhaprahāra of the above account may have been the same as Dr̥idhaprahāra of the Dēvalāli and other plates mentioned above. But there is a fundamental difference between the two narrations. The plates state that he left Dvārāvātī and came to Chandrādityapura, while the Nāsikākalpa states that he was born in what might have been the city of Chandrādityapura, (if this city took its name from Chandraprabhasvāmin as suggested by Bhagavanlal Indraji.<sup>15</sup>) According to Hēmādri, who professes to give the complete genealogy of the family, Dr̥idhaprahāra's father was Subāhu, while Nāsika-kalpa makes him the son of a Yādava-kṣatriya named Vajrakumāra, ~~whose name~~ ~~stands no place anywhere else.~~ Again the former does not refer to Chandrādityapura at all. He no doubt makes a reference to Dr̥idhaprahāra's coming from Dvārāvātī and becoming the ruler of the South.<sup>16</sup> He states that the latter chose Śrīnagara for his capital. Further the inscriptions state that Dr̥idhaprahāra's son Sēūnachandra I,<sup>17</sup> made Sindinēra his capital. If his immediate predecessor had chosen Chandrādityapura for the same purpose, it becomes inexplicable why his son so soon changed it. Also Chandrādityapura or Chandor<sup>18</sup> in Nasik District with which it is identified is no where else associated with the Sēūnas. On the other hand, this Sindinēra or Sēūnapura, so named by Sēūnachandra I after himself, which is the present S<sup>g</sup>innar in the same District, is associated with the Sēūnas, even long after <sup>they</sup> changed <sup>to</sup> their capital, Dēvagiri, as can be seen from

15 Ibid.

16 Rājaprasasti, Bhandarkar; op.cit., Verse 20-22.

17 ~~Indraji~~, Dēvalāli plates, op.cit., lines 5-6.

the title Sindinapuravarādhīvara<sup>19</sup> found in an inscription of 1248 A.D., belonging to Kannara. Thus it is obvious that the Sēūnas' tracing their origin to Yadu or the statement about their migrating from Dvāravatī to the south is just a myth, while Hēmadri's associating Dṛidhaprahāra with Śrīnagara which also is identified with Sinner<sup>20</sup> is a mixture of myth and history.

Believing in the Yādava origin of these kings, some scholars thought that they originally belonged to Dvārakā in Kathiavar and that Dṛidhaprahāra 'may possibly have migrated to Deccan from the north.'<sup>21</sup> On account of the latter's being associated with Chandrā-<sup>22</sup> dityapura, some others called them the Yādavas of Chandor or Chanded. The fact that the Yadus of ancient India were a pastoral tribe made some others identify the Yādavas<sup>23</sup> who are Sēūnas<sup>24</sup> with the Gauri kings of Khandesh, who are known from traditions. It is clear, however, that none of these<sup>surmises</sup> stands the test of historicity.

It is the common belief that the Sēūnas were a Marāṭha race

18 Bhandarkar, Op.cit., p.138.

19 A.E.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.4.

20 See B.I.S.M. Quarterly, Vol.XI, pp.14-15.

21 J.I.H., Vol.XXX, p.111.

22 Bom.Gaz., Vol.XVI (Nasik), p.185.

23 Do. Vol.XII (Khandesh), p.242 and f.n.

24 The similarity in titles of the Sēūnas and the Hoysalas made Elliot think that the former family was an offshoot of the latter, though he had 'no other proof of affinity' between the two families (~~Elliot, 1907, p.111~~, (Coins of Southern India, p.79-80). But ~~how~~ this conjecture is baseless since we know that the history of the Sēūnas begins much earlier than that of the Hoysalas. The simi-

and that their mother tongue was Marāṭhī. The Muslim historians refer to them as <sup>25</sup> Mahratta. Bhandarkar in his account of this dynasty <sup>describes</sup> ~~calls~~ their rule as the 'Hindu or Marāṭhā monarchy of the Deccan'. <sup>26</sup> Derrett also names them as the 'Marāṭhā Dynasty of Dēvagiri'. <sup>27</sup> The obvious reason for this is that the Sēūnas in the early days were connected with the present Marāṭhī speaking area, viz. the present Nasik District and areas round about it and that during the latter half of the Sēūna regime, Marāṭhī language and literature came to be much developed. But these reasons are not sufficient to dub them as a Marāṭhā race. On the other hand, there is enough evidence at our disposal <sup>to show</sup> that their original home was the Kannada country and that they, for political reasons, moved towards the northern part of the Deccan, which came to be known after them as Sēūnadēśa.

The names of almost all the members of the dynasty are Kannada. Names like Dhādiyappa, Rājugi, Vēsugi, Baddega, Lachchhiyavva, Mallugi, Bhillama, Jaitugi, Singhana, Kannara, are all re-<sup>28</sup> miniscent of their Kannada origin. The very name of the dynasty

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ilarity of the titles is on account of the fact that both the families trace their origin to the mythical Yadu.

25 Elliot: ~~and~~ ~~Howson~~ History of India, Vol.III, p.236.

26 Bhandarkar, Op.cit., Vol.III, p.167.

27 The Hoysalas, p.88.

28 The tendency of Sanskritisation of such names may be noticed in instances such as Vaddiga called Vandiga, Rājugi, as Śīrāja, Jaitugi as Jaitrapāla and the like.

Sēūṇa, is not Sanskritic. If, on the other hand, had the dynasty owed its origin to the North, the non-Sanskritic names <sup>could</sup> ~~can~~ hardly be justified. It may be noted with interest that one of the early kings of the dynasty, Sēūṇachandra II, bore, among other conventional ones, the title <sup>of</sup> Sellaviḍega which so closely resembles the Kannḍa title Iṛivabedaga or Iṛivabedaga borne by the Chālukya king Satyā-  
29-  
graya.

Matrimonial connections of the Sēūnas were with royal families of Karnāṭaka. Vaddiga married Voddiyavva, daughter of <sup>the</sup> Rāshtrakūṭa king Nīrupama. His son Bhīllama II married one Jhañja<sup>h</sup>. Vēsugi married the daughter of Chālukya Maṇḍalika Goggi. His son Bhīllama III married the daughter of the Chālukya king Jayasīṃha

30

II.

Politically, they were <sup>intimately</sup> connected with the Kannada country and  
31  
were called the 'lords of Kuntala' which comprised of the whole of  
the  
Kannada speaking areas.

29 In some inscriptions (A.R.E.I.E., 1934-35, B.K.No.32; ~~Ep. Ind.~~<sup>Ibid</sup>, Vol.~~III~~<sup>XIII</sup>, p.377 and ~~Do.~~<sup>Ibid</sup> Vol.XV, p.322 line 73) the term Yādavakula is spelt as Ādavakula. This made Barnett to remark 'it is quite possible that Ādava is the original name of the family and Yādava a Sanskritised form serving to support an imaginary pedigree' (Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, p.316). But this form occurs only in very few inscriptions and it is possible that it is a mistake. At any rate no sufficient evidence is available to support this view. It may also be noted that the same title, i.e. Yādava-nārāyaṇa occurs as Ādavanārāyaṇa with reference to the Hoysalas also. (~~Ep. Ind.~~<sup>Ibid</sup>, Vol.~~III~~<sup>XIII</sup>, p.377 and ~~Do.~~<sup>Ibid</sup> Vol.XV, p.322 line 73).

**30 See Section 11 below.**

Their own records call them the 'kings of Karnāṭa' (Karnāṭa-<sup>32</sup>  
rāya). Singhana bore the title 'Karnāṭarāyavamsābhirāma'.<sup>33</sup> The  
same title was applied to Hāmachandra also.

Some minor chiefs, who apparently belonged to a collateral  
branch of the Sēūṇa dynasty, were in power contemporaneously with  
the main line in the Kannada area. As subordinates of the Rāshṭra-  
kūṭas they were in office as governors of the Māsavāḍi District,  
which comprised of the area round about Dambal in Mundargi taluk  
of the Dharwar District. A similar family was serving under the<sup>34</sup>  
Kākatīyas in the Andhra country.

Barring a few copper plates and stone inscriptions, almost  
all the epigraphical records of the Sēūṇas are in Kannada language.  
Very few records of their<sup>35</sup> are written in Marāṭhī. Marāṭhī literature  
developed during the later Sēūṇa period but that does not go to  
prove that the Sēūṇas were a Marāṭhā dynasty. In consonance with  
the practice of those days, they extended patronage to all languages  
and literatures and <sup>this</sup> it is true of <sup>Marāṭhī</sup> Kannada also.

Thus it may not be wrong <sup>state</sup> ~~therefore~~ to ~~suggest~~ that the  
Sēūṇas were originally a Kannada family and due to political reasons  
~~they~~ settled themselves in the northern part of the Deccan. Possi-  
bly they <sup>accompanied</sup> ~~went along with~~ their overlords, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, in one  
of their campaigns and remained there or it is not unlikely that they

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32 Ibid., 1944-45, B.K. Nos.5 and 40.

33 Ibid., 1941-42, B.K. No.42.

34 See Appendix I.

were appointed as governors of that territory by the ruling kings. It is apparent that though they were far off from their home land, they kept themselves in touch with the happenings there. It looks as though they were anxiously awaiting to come back to their homeland, and taking the very first opportunity of the political upheavals in that area, they hastened down there and took over charge of the administration of the land as rightful monarchs, subduing of course, those who came in their way. Sēūpadēsa, at the same time, continued to be a part of their territory.

We may here notice a traditional account narrated in <sup>the</sup> Si khāmani which subscribes to the Kannaḍa origin of the Sēūpas. According to <sup>this work</sup> ~~it~~ Bhīllama V was born in the family of a herdsman and afterwards became the king of Karadikallu. The author of the work tries to explain the name Bhīllama<sup>by</sup> connecting it to the leaves of Bilva tree, alluding thereby that the king was named Bhīllama on account of the Bilva tree. The legend runs as follows:

"Hear, ruler of the land, Uttamottama rāya! I shall relate so that thou mayest know all that Parabrahma's guru (Gautama) communicated to his disciple. On the tableland of Rajatagiri (silver mountain) there grew in a lovely way three Bilva trees fit for Kāpāladhara (the skull-bearer, i.e. Śiva): two trees with two leaves; and opposite to the two of this description there was a Bilva tree with one leaf. In the shade of the two there were two ascetics: Dūrvāsa, an incarnation of Hara, and Kaundinya-muni.

Another lord of the munis, Dēvala, was performing austeries in the shade of the tree with (leaves) of one leaf; he had a disciple. On a certain day, to make pūjā to the līṅga in his hand, he gave him the order: "Take (some leaves) of the Bilva of one leaf, and bring them!" He went, and said (to himself): "I shall take;" but he could not reach them with his hand. Not daring to climb (the tree) lest he might sin, nor to go back (without the leaves), he looked round about, and, lo, there lay the skeleton of a camel. He trod and stood on it, took leaves, and brought and gave them to the guru. When he (Dēvala) came to know (the particulars), he said with wrath: "Didst thou dare to tread on bones and take down these leaves?! Be born in the womb of low people (holeya)! Go!" Then Dūrvāsa and Kaundinya-muni, with great wrath, said to that lord of munis: "Dost thou not know? When Sanatkumāra was proud and provoked Śaṅkara, the father of many deities, he said: 'Become a camel!' When he (Sanatkumāra) asked: 'At what time (will) the deliverance from the curse (happen)?' he gave the order: 'When thou hast died at the completion of thy age, and the disciple of the great Dēvala, the lord of the munis treads ~~of thy bones~~ on thy backbones, and cuts off Bilva leaves of one leaf, thy curse shall cease.' Afterwards, when he (Sanatkumāra) was thus lying, by means of this man (thy disciple) he saw Śiva's feet (i.e. was redeemed). Seeing this, canst thou speak in such a manner?!" Then he (Dēvala) became astonished, and said: Let him nevertheless be born as a cowherd (danapāla)! Let him be called king of Karadikallapura, and be conspicuous by the name of this (Bilva or Bilma) tree!" But they said: "King of the munis! As thou art his guru, be thou born, unhesitatingly teach him the whole road of knowledge, thereupon come with



him, and enter thy hermitage!" He consented. Hear further, king! The lord of Karadikal-paṭṭana, Mahandātarāya, wished for a son; but his wife had given birth only to girls. When she again became pregnant, the king grew angry, and said to his minister: "If now she gives birth to a female I will cut her throat without fearing to commit the murder of a woman." He heard (the words) to his grief, and when she again, gave birth to a female, he quickly took the child, walked through the town (ūru) and inquired: "Has nowhere a male been born?" Finding none, he looked to a house in the outer street (where the low people use to live), and went (to it), when the disciple of Dēvala, the lord of the munis, had been born (therein). From compassion he entered, put this child there, took that male child with him, put it at her (the queen's) side, and brought and told the news (of an son having been born) to his master. With the words: "Is it truth or falsehood?" he (the king) went and saw; then he was immersed in the sea of joy, straightaway gave all the gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, and distributed cart-loads of sugar. Thereafter he gave (the boy) the name Bhīllama, performed the ceremony of (giving) the name and lived in happiness. When Bhīllama had attained to manhood, Mahandāta, from love, had his marriage performed, fastened the royal insignia on him, and went to the abode of the enemy of Cupid (i.e. to Kailāsa); but his son ruled the kingdom in happiness, and behaved truthfully. Meanwhile Dēvalamuni, his guru, was born in the world of mortals, was called "master of the (guru)-caste" came quickly (to Bhīllama) uttered the Āgamas of Śiva, gave him the dīkṣā, and entered the cave of Uara, that of Kuṇi (i.e. hole) Somēśvara. When the king, who had obtained excellent divine knowledge, lived in happiness, his minister Mallayya did not bow his head (before him) and was distant towards him. The lord of the land

observed it, had him called, and told him: "Have some Bilva leaves of one leaf brought, and give them to me for the līṅga pūjā!" He said: "Well!" called for the servants, and gave the order. They sought (for the leaves) till they became fatigued, came to the minister, joined their hands and told him. When he had heard (their tale), he was astonished, went to the ruler of the land, and begged (his advice). He gracefully listened, and spoke: "If I tell thee the place, wilt thou alone, with joy, go and bring (the leaves)?" To this he replied "Without delay, in half an hour, I shall bring", when he (the king) made him acquainted with the manner, and dismissed him. He quickly went to the place of that tree, but looking at it and finding he could not reach (the leaves), he said: What shall I do?" and felt distressed. Looking this way and that way, he saw the skeleton lying there, and saying, "I, with joy, shall now tread on this and try", he approached it. When the two munis (Dūrvāsa and Kaundinya) saw that, they said: "Oh, do not! when the disciple of Dēvala muni, who, sitting in the shade of this tree, was performing austerities, trod on this and cut off (some leaves), he, by the guru's curse, was born in the womb of low people (holaya), became king of Karaḍikalpaṭṭapa, has (now) a good report, and is conspicuous by the name of the tree. Dēvalamuni said he would become the master of the guru-caste, pointed out Hara's road (to his disciple), make him pure, bring him (back), and as before, like us, live in the shade of this tree; then he went away, and has not yet returned. Do not tread on it! Go silently as thou hast come!" He joined his hands, quickly went (back) to the lord of the land, prostrated, and said: "O treasure of honour! you knew the alienation of my heart, and have cleansed me. I am attached to your feet." The king took his hand, and put him in a happy position, O Gambhīra". This

account has been closely followed by the author of Bhillamarāya-  
Purāṇa.<sup>35a</sup>

It is obvious that the <sup>above</sup> legend is a figment of imagination. Karadikal-paṭṭana<sup>36</sup> is the modern Karadkal, a hamlet near Lingsugur, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in the Raichur District. That this part was under the rule of Bhillama is clear from the fact that an inscription of his is found therein in the temple known as that of Kuni-Sōmappa. The hill nearby is also known as Bhillama-rāyaṇa gudda, i.e. the hill of Bhillamarāya. To connect him with these two, the poet wove a story, making him the son of an unknown Mahadant<sup>n</sup>tarāya, whereas, we know that actually Bhillama had nothing to do with this legendary king. Bhillama's<sup>37</sup> activities had begun long before he came to be associated with Karadikal.

#### Name of the Family

Having thus seen that the Yādava origin is only a myth and that Yādava is not the proper name of the family, we have now to think about its precise name.

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<sup>35a</sup> See Sources, pp 469-70 below  
<sup>36</sup> A.R.I.E., 1953-54, B.240.

<sup>37</sup> Rice quotes a tradition recorded in the Sthala-purāṇa of Stambōdadhi which purports to say that in Dvāpara-yuga, a king of Karnāṭakadēśa named Hēmachandra, with his capital at Yadupaṭṇa sent his son Sumati to Dēvaraya-durga (in Tumkur District). He founded the city of Bhumanandana on the site of the north of Binnamangala etc. Further Rice suggested that the legend may possibly relate to Rāmachandra here corrupted to Hēmachandra (Mys.Gaz., Vol.II, p.19). But no credence need be given to the legend. Rāmachandra was the last king of the dynasty and he had no son named Sumati, nor was there any question of his migrating from Yadupaṭṇa to the south.

It has been mentioned above that this family is called Sēūna in their own inscriptions as also in the inscriptions of their neighbours, notably the Hoysalas. Later kings <sup>(also)</sup> of the family, viz., Bhillama, Jaitugi, Siṃghana, Kannara, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra ~~also~~ are all associated with this name in their titles like Sēūna-chakravarti, Sēūna-Bhīma, Sēūna-rājavallabha, Sēūnavīra, Sēūnapratāpachakravarti, Sēūnavamśa-sikhāmaṇi, Sēūnarāya, Sēūn-ānvaya-prāṇta and so on. Thus it is quite in the fitness of things that this dynasty <sup>should be named</sup> ~~is called~~ the Sēūna and not Yādava.

That this is the correct name was first noticed by Rice who wrote: "The line of kings called by various writers the Yādavas of <sup>38</sup> Dēvagiri, it seems more correct to designate Sēūnas or Sēvūnas." But yet he was not <sup>wholly</sup> right in observing that "this is the name applied <sup>39</sup> to them by the Hoysalas who call themselves the Yādavas," since this name is applied to Sēūnas in their own records as well as those of other dynasties <sup>also</sup> like the Chālukya and Kākatīya.

Fleet also realised that <sup>Sēūna</sup> ~~this~~ is the correct name but as a matter of convenience he chose to call them the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. He wrote in this connection: "And since their original territory was called the Sēūna country, and expression 'the <sup>(the)</sup> Sēūna king' is actually used to denote the first king Bhillama and he is also described as rendering highly prosperous the rule of the family of the Sēvāna (i.e. Sēūna) kings" they would undoubtedly be more correctly called Sēūnas. But they were known as Yādavas to the Musalman historians. So also the Hindu Pratāparudrīya speaks of them as Yādava kings of

38 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Introduction p.36.

39 Ibid.

the Sēvaṇa, i.e. of the Sēuṇa country. And the name has become so thoroughly well established that it seems both unnecessary and undesirable to now set it aside in favour of simply a more technically correct appellation.<sup>40</sup> But though the family is commonly known as the Yādava it should not be just 'unnecessary and undesirable' to give the family its correct name. In fact it does need a change for the simple reason that the Sēuṇas called themselves as such though they bore the traditional titles of Yādavas, in consonance with their mythical origin. They were<sup>generally</sup> known to their contemporaries<sup>Sēuṇas</sup> as such. Moreover, the term Yādava has not been applied to them exclusively. It denotes a number of other families also including the Sēuṇas, though at the same time it is to be accepted that a large number of the later inscriptions of the family do not refer to this name, i.e. Sēuṇa.

Unfortunately the exact connotation of the term Sēuṇa cannot<sup>41</sup> be ascertained. But it is certain that the family as also the country came to be known by that name after its first ruler Sēuṇa-<sup>42</sup>chandra I as is evidenced by inscriptions and confirmed by Hēmadri.

40 Bom.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.ii, p.511.

41 The other variants<sup>or</sup> of this term are Sēvaṇa, Sēvūṇa and Sēguṇa. It may casually be suggested here that Sēuṇachandra, to whom the capital, the country and the family owe their name, may be a Prakrit form of Sadguṇachandra or Saguṇachandra. Of course, in Prakrit these form ~~or Sadguṇachandra or Saguṇachandra~~ can be Sagguna, Saguna and Sauna. In that case the ē in Sēuṇa remains unexplained. It may best be considered as due to local influence. It is interesting to note in this connection that in parts of North India we notice the existence of a family name Bahuguna. It is not unlikely that

It is through him that the capital Sindinēra also became known as Sēūnapura.<sup>43</sup> The practice of naming <sup>a</sup>the family after <sup>its</sup>the famous person of that family is quite common.

b. Genealogy:

Like the origin, the genealogy also of the Sēūna family is beset with difficulties. Of about ~~the~~ five hundred inscriptions which belong to this family, only about a score are helpful in dealing with the genealogy. For the early part of it particularly, only seven of them are useful. To add to those, we have another important source in the introductory portion of the Vratakhanda of the work Chaturvarga Chintāmani written by the celebrated scholar-politician Hēmādri - a minister during the regime of the last two kings of the dynasty. <sup>This author</sup> ~~The latter~~ <sup>s</sup>professed to give us a complete genealogy from the mythical originator the Moon down to Mahādēva, the last but one member of the dynasty, during whose regime he compiled his famous work. But this does not make our problem any way easier. The accounts found in these different sources do not always agree. Hēmādri's account, particularly, appears to have been based more on legends and traditions. He introduces a number of princes, <sup>many times not</sup> ~~not always~~ specifying their relation with one another. He some times disagrees with the accounts of the records. Nor are the <sup>accounts</sup> ~~latter~~ always in agreement with each other.

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Sēūna might have something to do with guṇa. Or is Sēūna, the Prakrit form of Sēvana meaning 'service'? Does it not favourably compare itself with the family name Pratihāra?

42 Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 218, verse 10; Hēmādri, op. cit., verse 22

43 Dēvalāli plates, op. cit., verse 3.

The Purāṇic part of the genealogy <sup>a</sup> is given by Hēmādri and is also found in three inscriptions. They are the Sangamanēr plates, <sup>44</sup> the earliest record of the dynasty dated 1000 A.D., the Kalēgaon plates <sup>45</sup> dated two centuries later in 1261 A.D. and the <sup>46</sup> Paithan plates dated still later, i.e. in 1272 A.D. Though all these begin their account from Viriñchi or Brahma, the latter two mention fewer names than the first, skipping off few others, apparently considering them to be not important. But Hēmādri starts from Indu or Moon enumerating in full details all the names occurring in the Purāṇas, thus mentioning more than fortyfive names before <sup>47</sup> he comes to the first historic personage.

Leaving aside this Purāṇic account, we may try to <sup>find out</sup> know as to who might have been the first historic personage of the family. Bhandarkar begins his account of this family <sup>48</sup> with Subāhu, presumably thinking that he was the first member. Fleet also did the same <sup>49</sup> though he called this period as 'supposed historical times'. <sup>50</sup> Katore rightly doubted the historicity of this person while Dearos <sup>51</sup> omitted him altogether. Though it is impossible to accept the historicity of Subāhu, we may note in passing a predecessor of his, Vajra, by name, mentioned by Hēmādri for the simple reason that <sup>52</sup> Hēmādri's statement is corroborated by the Mēthi inscription which

44 Ep.Ind., Vol.II, pp.217 ff.

45 Ibid., Vol.XXXII, pp.31 ff.

46 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, pp.314 ff.

47 (Op.cit., pp.191 ff.

48 Ibid., p.137.

49 Ben.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.II, p.512.

50 I.I.E., Vol.XXX, p.111.

51 d .84. 52 p.Ind. Vol.XXVIII .312 ff.

does not give the Purānic names. But there again there is discrepancy between the two statements. According to Hēmādri, Vajra<sup>53</sup> is the grandfather of Subāhu and Subāhu's son was Drīḍhaprahāra.<sup>54</sup> But in Mēthi inscription Vajra is immediately followed by Drīḍhaprahāra. This inscription does not specify the relation between the two but subsequent to the enumeration of all the names it states that they were born in order (Jātā-kramāt).

(according to Hēmādri.)

Vajra's successors Pratibāhu and Subāhu are not mentioned in any inscription. But the latter's son Drīḍhaprahāra is credited<sup>55</sup> with the honour of being the 'first king' of the family.

53 Cp.cit. Tatō bhūbhritpaksha-kshapapa-nipunēn-aiya mahasā /  
parispūrian-Vairah satamakha-sakhaḥ prādur-abhavat || 17 ||  
Vairasya sūnuḥ Pratibāhur-āsīd-dēśikrita-kshapāpatichakravālāḥ  
Tat-ēpi sāmūd-abhavat-Subāhuḥ prāsūta sē-yan chaturas-  
tanūlān || 18 ||

54 The editor of the record in this connection remarks that the expression vaira is used 'obviously for the necessity of metre'. But it does not appear to be so. In view of the fact that Hēmādri mentions a predecessor of that name, Vajra in the inscription can be taken to stand for that person only. Consequently the reading in the inscription viz. Vaira-Drīḍhaprahāra-nīripati (line 4) which is corrected by the editor as <sup>o</sup>nripatiḥ, should be better corrected to <sup>o</sup>nripati, to mean Vajra and Drīḍhaprahāra. So far as the omission of the names of Pratibāhu and Subāhu in the record is concerned, it may be remarked that it does not give the complete genealogy of the family and omission is quite natural. Similarly it has omitted many other names mentioned by Hēmādri. Again it may be noted that the correct reading in the record is Vaiya and not Vaira. It is signi-



Dridhaprahāra is generally believed to be the first member of the family.<sup>56</sup> But the historicity of this person also is not beyond doubt. He is not mentioned in the earliest records of the family, viz. Sangannēr<sup>57</sup> and Kalasbudruk plates.<sup>58</sup> He is mentioned for the first time in Dēvalāli plates dated Śaka 974, the Bassein plates of Śaka 991 and Āsvi plates of Śaka 1020. Also he figures in the Mēthi inscription. In the former three records he is stated to have migrated from Dvārāvati and settled at Chandrādityapura.

Hemādri states that he was the second son of Subāhu and was made the ruler of the southern region. He does not however give the name of the first son. He also seems to say that he came from Dvārāvati but <sup>that</sup> he chose Śrīnagara for his capital.<sup>59</sup> The tradition recorded in Nāṣika-kalpa also associated him with Dvārāvati but ascribes his birth to different parents probably at Chandrādityapura. It is however shown above that his migration from Dvārāvati to the South has no historical value.<sup>60</sup> So it is not improper <sup>therefore</sup> to surmise that Dridhaprahāra is not a historical personality.

Sēṇachandra I stated to be the son of Dridhaprahāra by

ficant to note that this variant of the expression Vaira is found in one of the Ms. of Kālaprasasti (Op.cit., p.193 f.n.2).

55 Ādau-lāta-Dridhaprahāra-nripatih, etc. (Dēvalāli plates) (op.cit.). Bassein and Āsvi plates read Ādau Khyāta.

56 J.I.H., Vol.XXX, p.111; Indica, p.85, Struggle for Empire, p.196, f.n.1.

57 Op.cit.

58 Ind.Ant., Vol.XVII, pp. 120 ff.

59 Op.cit., verse 20-22.

60 See . \ above.

Hēmādrī as well as the Dēvalāli, Bassein and Āsvī plates and Methi inscription, is undoubtedly the first historical personage of the family. It is with him that the Sangamaner and Kalas-Budruk inscriptions start their genealogy. The next four members who followed in order of succession are Dhāḍiyappa, his son Bhillama I, his son Rājagi and the latter's son Vaddiga. All our sources are unanimous so far as this information is concerned, though there are minor variations. In <sup>the</sup> Methi inscription Dhāḍiyappa is called Dhāḍipaka and Hēmādrī calls him Dhāḍiyasa, in both the cases, apparently to suit the metre. Again, only two <sup>of the</sup> authorities do not specify his relation with his predecessor. That Bhillama I was the son of Dhāḍiyappa is known from Hēmādrī, <sup>but</sup> ~~while~~ the inscriptions do not speak about their relationship. Kalas-Budruk epigraph at any rate seems to hint at it when it says <sup>61</sup> ~~jātas-tatē~~ Bhillamah. In the Dēvalāli and Āsvī plates this Bhillama is called Bṛihad-Bhillama. Bhillama's son <sup>62</sup> Rājagi was also called Rāja <sup>63</sup> or Śrī Rāja. It may be noted that Kalēgaon and Paithan plates do not mention Sēūnachandra I, Dhāḍiyappa and Bhillama I. Both of them say that in the family of Yadu was <sup>64</sup> born the king Rāja. Rājagi's son and successor was Vaddiga or Vādugi, the latter form of name being found in the Methi inscription and Hēmādrī's account. The Kalēgaon and Paithan plates do not mention him. In the Sangamner plates he is called Vaddiga which also

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61 Op.cit. V. p. 120, line 5.

62 In the Sangamner, Kalas-Budruk, Āsvī, Kalēgaon and Paithan plates and Methi inscription.

63 In the Dēvalāli and Bassein <sup>e</sup> plates.

64 Op.cit., Verse 6.

to the exclusion of other sources states that the latter married<sup>65</sup>  
Voddiyavvā, a daughter of Dhērappa.

Next in succession came Bhillama II, the son of Vaddiga.  
But our sources are not unanimous over this point. The K<sup>a</sup>las Budrak,  
Dēvalāli, Passein and Āsvi plates say so, though Sangannēr plates  
omit the verse containing this information and the Methi inscrip-  
tion only hints at it. Kalēgaon and Paithan plates do not mention  
him or his predecessor. Hēmādri however introduces a certain<sup>66</sup>  
Dhāḍiyama in between Vaddiga and Bhillama II.

This has given rise to certain surmises. Bhandarkar thinks  
that Dhāḍiyama was another son of Vaddiga and that his name is omit-  
ed in the records 'probably because he was only collateral and not<sup>67</sup>  
an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line.' Katore who seems  
to agree with this view expresses the possibility of a "palace  
revolution in which Vaddiga was overthrown by Dhāḍiyasa" and the<sup>68</sup>  
latter by Bhillama. Deoras who also takes Dhāḍiyama to be a  
collateral and 'the eldest son' of Vaddiga, on the other hand thinks  
that "it is likely that he turned traitor and joined hands with  
Taila II in overthrowing the Hāshtrakūṭas. For this Taila may have<sup>69</sup>  
rewarded him with more territory in the present Ahmadnagar District."  
It is however to be remarked that nowhere in the records or in

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<sup>65</sup> Op.cit., text line 38.

<sup>66</sup> Op.cit., verse 24.

<sup>67</sup> Op.cit., p.139.

<sup>68</sup> J.I.H., Vol.XXX, p.114.

<sup>69</sup> Indica, p.86.

Hemādri's account, is there a semblance of a hint of either a palace revolution<sup>or</sup> of Dhādiyama's turning traitor. The verse in the Kalas-Budruk plates on which Katarā bases his surmise does not contain even a remote reference to some such disturbance. It simply states that Bhillama was born of Vaddiga, as Moon is born out of Dugdha-<sup>70</sup>mahārṇava or the mythical Kshīra-sāgara. The title Saṅgrāma-rāma does not certainly refer to any particular battle. Further there is no reason to presume that Bhillama II was the brother of Dhādiyama. Hemādri states that Dhādiyama was born after Vādugi (jainā<sup>71</sup>Dhādiyanas-tataḥ). It is therefore possible to take it in the sense that Dhādiyama was the younger brother of Vādugi or Vaddiga. In the next statement of Hemādri that tasmāt-āvir-abhūt Bhillamaḥ, i.e. to him was born Bhillama, indicates ordinarily that Bhillama was born to the immediately preceding person, i.e. Dhādiyama, though it can as well be construed with Vādugi and thus interpret it to mean that Bhillama was born to Vādugi. This latter interpretation is justified in the light of the statements in epigraphical records. Though the Sangamner plates can be said to be of little help since the verse specifying the birth of Bhillama II is omitted possibly out of negligence of the scribe, the authority of the Kalas-Budruk plate<sup>73</sup> of his grandson Bhillama III which were issued just 26 years later

70 Op.cit., text line 7 ff:

Tasmād-dugdhamahārṇavād-iva śaśi viśvaṁ saṁudbhāsayan

śimā śaurya-raṇaya Bhillama-nripaḥ saṅgrāmarāmo'-bhavat ||

71 Op.cit., verse 24. Jainā Dhādiyanas-tataḥ pratibhaṭa-kabhā  
pāla-kālapaḥ |

a-tasmād-āvirabhūt-prabhūta-vibhavē bhartā bhuvō Bhillamaḥ

72 It is dated Śaka 948.

and which state that his grandfather Bhillama II was born of Vaddiga is to be relied upon. This Bhillama married Lachchhiyavvā, Lasthiyavvā or Lakshmi, the daughter of a Jhañja.<sup>73</sup> He was succeeded by his son Vēsugi, variously called as Vāsu,<sup>74</sup> Vēsuka,<sup>75</sup> Tēsūka<sup>76</sup> and Vēsuki.<sup>77</sup> He married princess Nāyīyaladēvi, the daughter of Goggi who is described as Chālukya-nvaya-mandalika.<sup>78</sup>

Hemādri places Arjuna and Rāja after Vēsugi<sup>79</sup> and ~~in some~~ he purports to say that Arjuna was born of the latter and was succeeded by Rāja. Next to him came Bhillama III. The relation between them is not clear. The epigraphical sources however do not corroborate this. On the other hand the Kalas-Budruk and Dēvalāli plates clearly state that Vēsugi was succeeded by his son Bhillama III and these records belong to the latter king only. It is impossible that these contemporary records would omit the names of Arjuna and Rāja, if they were Bhillama's immediate predecessors. Bhandarkar tries to explain that Arjuna referred to is Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava 'meaning to compare Vēsugi with him and his enemies to Bhīṣma'.<sup>80</sup> He also does not read any name like Rāja following Arjuna. But the context seems to indicate the existence of these two princes. Therefore on the authority of the above contemporary records, the statements of which are corroborated by the later records,<sup>81</sup> it is proper to believe that the

73 Kalas Budruk, Dēvalāli, Bassein and Āsvi plates.

74 Kalas Budruk plates

75 Dēvalāli plates.

76 Bassein plates.

77 Āsvi plates.

78 Dēvalāli and other plates.

79 Op.cit., verse 24 ff.

80 Bhandarkar, op.cit. p.142.

81 The Bassein, Āsvi and Methi records.

person who succeeded Vēsugi was Bhīllama III and not Arjuna and Rāja. Bhīllama III married Hammā or Avvaladēvi, the daughter of  
82  
Chālukya Jagadēkamalla Jayasīṃha II.

After Bhīllama III, there appears to have been a gap in the genealogy as can be gathered from the Bassein and Āsvi plates. Both of them mention Sēūnachandra who is stated to have been born in that (i.e. Bhīllama's) family.<sup>83</sup> It is clear from the text of these epigraphs that Sēūnachandra was not the direct successor of Bhīllama III. Hēmādri however seems to fill in this gap by introducing between these two, three persons named Vādugi, Vēsugi and Bhīllama.<sup>84</sup> But the relation between these three is not clear. Hēmādri simply states that they succeeded one another in order (tatah). At this stage, it appears, the succession went to the members who were not directly connected with the main line. The Bassein and Āsvi plates state that Sēūnachandra of the family of Bhīllama (i.e. Bhīllama III) 'lifted up the rājya just as the three worlds were lifted up by god Hari in the form of boar, after the death of Bhīllama'.<sup>85</sup> The last ~~plate~~<sup>the</sup> of Dēvalāli plates, the inscription of which belongs to this Sēūnachandra, throws more light on this point. It states that he lifted up his own kingdom (svakam rāshtram) which was being drowned on account of the destruction

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82 The Dēvalāli, Bassein and Āsvi plates.

83 Tad-vaṃś-ōdbhava-Sēūnēndu-nṛpatiḥ etc.

84 Op.cit., verses 26-28.

85 Āsvi plates, line 27. This Bhīllama, as already pointed out by Bhandarkar, cannot be Bhīllama III (op.cit., p.142).

86

(vipralumpita) by the dāyādins. This seems to show that after Bhillama III the succession went to the dāyādins and Sēūnachandra regained it from them. The word svakaṃ shows that he was the rightful claimant of the rulership.

Of the three names after Bhillama III enumerated by Hēnā-dri, Vādugi is stated to be the son of Bhillama (Sa vādugih svādu-girāṃ kavīnām stōtr-aikapātraṃ śhavatīśma tasmāt). It is pointed out above that Sēūnachandra could not have been the son of Bhillama III. In the absence of further material which would throw more light on the point, it may tentatively be surmised as follows. Bhillama III's son Vādugi (or Vaddiḡa II) had a brother named Vēsugi (i.e. Vēsugi II) who is stated to have succeeded him. Bhillama (i.e. Bhillama IV) who succeeded the latter was possibly a son of Vēsugi. Sēūnachandra may be presumed to be the son of Vādugi. After Vādugi II, the right of throne should have gone to Sēūnachandra himself. But it went to Vēsugi II, probably because of Sēūnachandra's tender age. After Vēsugi II, it seems, his son Bhillama IV tried to occupy the throne. But Sēūnachandra, rightful heir as he was, got it by force from Bhillama IV, who was his dāyādīn. The expression avaraṇaṃ gataṃ Bhillamē used in this connection shows that Bhillama lost his life in this fight.

87

Sēūnachandra II had two sons, Āiramaḍēva and Sīṃharāja.

86 Lines 42 ff.

87 The correction of the name to Parammaḍēva (Ep. Ind. XXVII, p. 314 <sup>fn. 7</sup>) is unnecessary. Further Parammaḍēva is identified with maḥānanda-lēśvara Permaḍiḍēvarasa of the Sēūna family who was a subordinate of Jagadēkamalla II (J. I. H., Vol. XXX, pp. 115-16). But this identification is not correct. He belonged to a minor Sēūna family who govern-

This Siṃharāja can be identified with Singhapa of the Kalēgaon and Paithan plates and Sēūnadēva of Gadag inscription.<sup>88</sup>

All the authorities agree that this Singhapa I was succeeded<sup>89</sup> by Mallugi. Mallugi had two sons. One of them was Amaragāṅg-ēya or Amaraganga while the other was Karṇa according to Gadag inscription,<sup>90</sup> and Mallugi or Amaramallugi according to Dharwar plates,<sup>91</sup> and Hēṃādri's account.<sup>92</sup> The Methi inscription also places a Kṛishṇa after Mallugi. Karṇa is another form of the name Kṛishṇa. So Karṇa of the Gadag inscription and Kṛishṇa of the Methi record can be identified. Both these inscriptions further state that Karṇa

ed over the district of Māsavādi (See Appendix <sup>I</sup> ~~II~~).

<sup>88</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 219 ff. It may be noted in this connection that the Methi inscription does not mention any prince in between Bhillama III and Sēūnachandra II, nor does it speak of Airama-dēva or Siṃharāja. The editor of this inscription however introduces<sup>S</sup> a Rāja II after Sēūna II (i.e. Sēūnachandra II) and suggests that he (i.e. Rāja II) 'has perhaps to be identified with Singhapa of Bhandarkar'. (Op.cit., p. 314). But the existence of such a person is not corroborated by any other source and the Methi inscription also does not seem to mention him. The text of the inscription is faulty and the editor has read it with corrections as follows:

Bhūmibhṛinri(bhṛin-nri)ga-Bhillama Kṣitipāte(tib) Sēūna-  
Rāj-ābhida lātē(tau).

But if the same is read as follows, it is possible to take Sēūnarāja to denote one and the same person

Bhūmī-bhṛinriga-Bhillama kṣiti-patē(tib) Sēūnarājābhida(dhē)  
lātē(tō)

<sup>89</sup> The Kalēgaon and Paithan plates, Gadag and Takali inscription and Hēṃādri's Mālaprasasti. See also Boradi Inscription (Sams'odhak, Vol. 26, p. 2).



or Kṛishṇa was succeeded by Bhīllama V and the Gadag inscription<sup>93</sup> says that the latter was his son. There are other inscriptions<sup>94</sup> which also state that Bhīllama was the son of a Mallugi. In that case, Mallugi will have to be identified with Karna or Kṛishṇa and this Mallugi should have to be named Mallugi II. But according to Hēmadri, Bhīllama is the son of Mallugi I and brother of Amaramallugi since Bhīllama is called a pitriyva or the brother of Kālīya-<sup>95</sup> ballāḷa's father, who (i.e. Kālīya-ballāḷa) succeeded Amaramallugi. To avoid this discrepancy, the editors of the Dharwar plates have<sup>e</sup> by suggesting an emendation to Hēmadri's text surmised that Bhīllama was the pitriyva of Kālīya-ballāḷa's son and therefore Kālīya-<sup>96</sup> ballāḷas' brother. Thus he will become the son of Amara-Mallugi. We have seen that he is the son of Mallugi II and therefore Amara Mallugi and Mallugi II must be identical. This shows that Siṅghana

90 Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 219 ff.

91 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 32 ff. Here the relation between Amara-gāṅgēya and Mallugi is not specified.

92 Op. cit., verse 35 ff.

93 Op. cit., test lines 6-7.

94 Dharwar plates, op. cit.; Haralhalli inscription, A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No. 57, Dēvasthānahakkalu inscription; Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, etc. etc.

95 Hēmadri's Rāiaprastā, op. cit., verse 36.

96 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, p. 34. They say that the word putrān in verse 37 of Hēmadri might be a mistake for putra. Thus according to the context Bhīllama will be a pitriyva of this putra of Kālīya-ballāḷa. They also think that Amara-Mallugi might be a mistake for Aparā-Mallugi suggesting thereby that his name was Karna or Kṛishṇa but he got the name Aparā-Mallugi on account of his father who had the same name.

I's son Mallugi (i.e. Mallugi I), had two sons Amaraganga and Amara-  
mallugi<sup>97</sup> or Mallugi II who also bore the names Karna or Krishna.  
The latter's sons were Kāliyaballāḷa and Bhīllama V. Hēmadri men-  
tions one more predecessor of Kāliyaballāḷa, viz. Gōvindarāja, who  
appears to have been the son of Amaraganga.<sup>98</sup>

All sources agree that Bhīllama V was succeeded by his son  
Jaitugi<sup>99</sup> and the latter by his son Singhaṇa II. Singhaṇa II had a  
son by name Jaitugi (i.e. Jaitugi II). Jaitugi had two sons,  
Kannara and Mahādēva. The former was variously called Kannara, Kan-  
dhara, Kandhāra and in one or two records Kānhadēva.<sup>100</sup> Two inscrip-  
tions from Hirekōgilūru mention<sup>101</sup> two sons of Singhaṇa as Sāraṅga-  
pāni and Mahādēva. Here apparently they omit Jaitugi the son of  
Singhaṇa. Again Sārangapāni may easily be identified with Krishna  
or Kannara since the two names mean one and the same. Kannara and  
Mahādēva had a son each named Rāmachandra and Āmaṇa,<sup>102</sup> respectively.

Rāmachandra, it seems had more than one sons. But unfortun-  
ately, it is very difficult to have more<sup>reliable</sup> information regarding them.  
Epigraphical evidence is not found to that effect and the other

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<sup>97</sup> It may be noted in this connection that the Kalegāon and  
Paithan plates do not mention Mallugi I at all. This may be an  
omission on the part of the authors of the records.

<sup>98</sup> Op.cit., verse 35.

<sup>99</sup> Two inscriptions from Hirekōgilūr (Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Ci 21  
and 22) wrongly place Bhīllama after Jaitugi.

<sup>100</sup> See Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.136.

<sup>101</sup> Footnote <sup>99</sup> above.

<sup>102</sup> The Paithan plates.

sources, the Muslim chronicles and early Marāṭhi literary works <sup>are</sup> ~~and~~ not accurate in their accounts. It is generally taken by Fleet, Bhandarkar and other early historians that Rāmachandra's son was Śankara. Nilakanta Sastri <sup>103</sup> named him Sangama. Venkataramanayya <sup>104</sup> called him Bhillama. But it has been shown rightly that the proper name of this son was not Śankara but Singhana and that he had a brother named Bhillama. <sup>105</sup> The Marāṭhi sources give a conflicting account. Bhānuvijaya, for instance, states that Rāmachandra had three sons, Śankara, Ballāla and Bimba. According to this work, Ballāla did not tolerate Śankara becoming the king. So Rāmachandra partitioned the kingdom and sent Ballāla to Trikalinga. <sup>106</sup> Mahakāvati Bakhar, on the other hand, gives their names as (1) Śankara (2) Kēsava (3) Bimba and (4) Pratāpāsā. It adds that Śankara and Kēsava were placed at Dēvagiri, while Bimba was governing Udayagiri and Pratapāsā was in Alanda. <sup>107</sup> But these accounts seem to be very unreliable, particularly the statement that the country was divided and that Ballāla was placed in Trikalinga. Trikalinga, i.e. Andhra country was under the Kākatīyas and no part of that territory was under Sēūnas during the time of Rāmachandra. Until at least more conclusive evidence comes forth it is safer to surmise that Rāmachandra had two sons, Singhana (i.e. Singhana III) and Bhillama, i.e. (Bhillama VI). He had a daughter also, whose name is not known, but <sup>who</sup> was given in marriage to one Harapāladēva.

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103 History of South India, p.207.

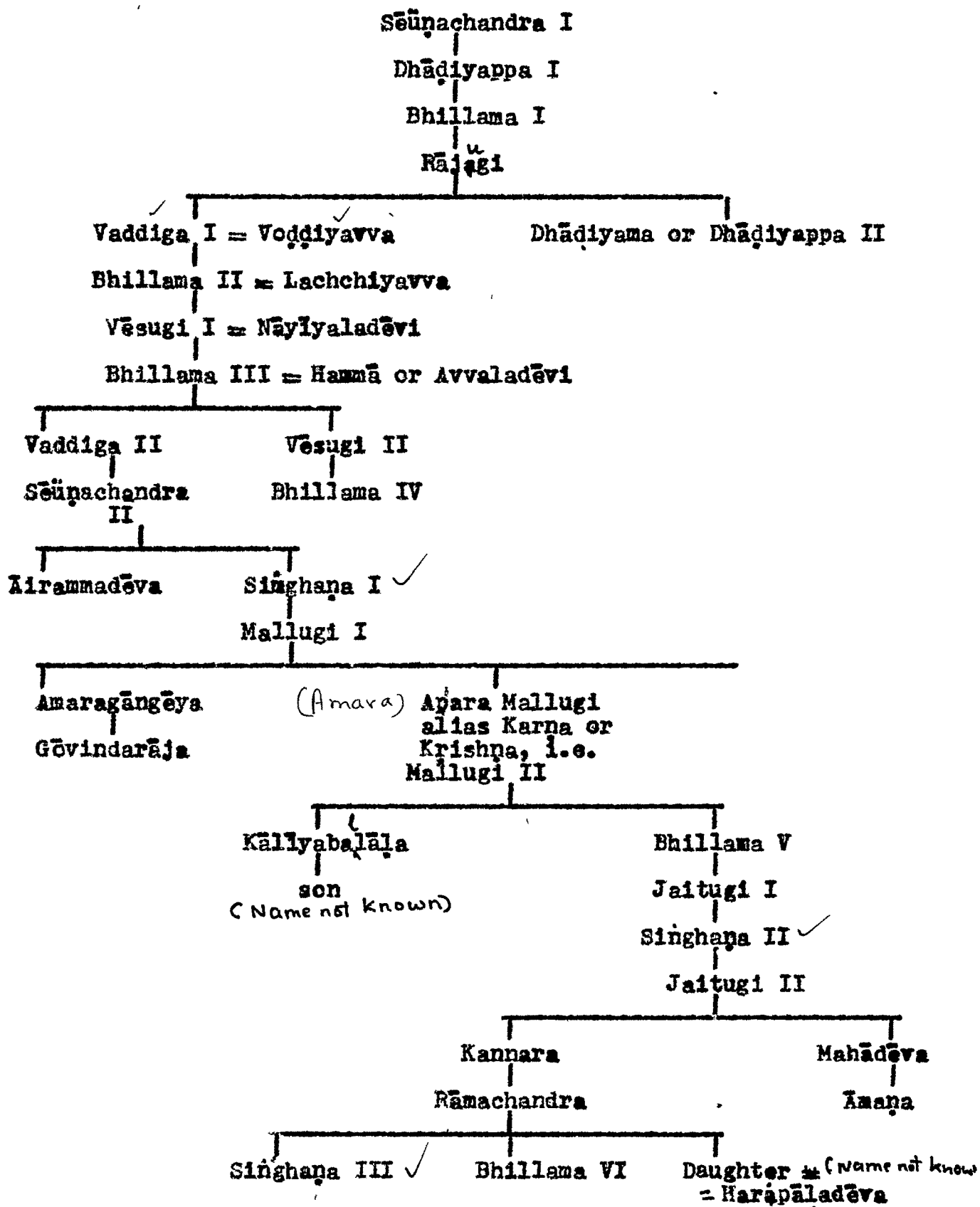
104 Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p.15.

105 The Delhi Sultanate, pp.48-49.

106 Verse 239.

107 Introduction p.42.

form as below:



## 11. The Early Rulers

### Sēūnachandra I:

We have seen above that Sēūnachandra I was the real founder-member of the family. Information about him is to be found only from records of his successors and the narration of Hēmādri. The ~~tax~~ Sangannēr epigraph describing <sup>him</sup> in a conventional way adds that the territory of which he was the ruler came to <sup>be</sup> known after him. <sup>108</sup> Hēmādri confirms it. <sup>109</sup> Dēvalāli and other plates state that Sindinēra was named by him Sēūnapura. <sup>110</sup> The family also must have acquired its name from him only.

Precise date cannot be ascribed to Sēūnachandra. But on the basis of the dates of his successors, a tentative period may be conjectured. Vaddiga I, fourth in order of succession after him, is <sup>111</sup> known to be a subordinate of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III who reigned between 939 A.D. to 967 A.D. <sup>112</sup> On the basis of these dates Sēūnachandra may be surmised to have ruled sometime between 835 and 860 A.D. Nripatunṅga Amoghavarsha I was the then ruling king.

### Dhādīyappa I, Bhīllama I and Rājāgi:

No historical information is forthcoming about these chiefs. As usual, a period of 25 years may be assigned to each one of them, viz., c.860-885 A.D., 885-910 A.D. and c.910-935 A.D.

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108 Op.cit., p.218, verse 10.      109 Op.cit., verse 22.

110 The statement here is rather ambiguous. It reads: 'yēn-ākāri puram cha Sēūnapuram 'sri Sindinērē varē'. It apparently means that the renamed Sindinēra which was his capital, as Sēūnapura.

111 Ep.Ind., Vol.II, p.218, text line 37.

112 Age of Imperial Kanauj, pp.14-15.

Vaddiga I:

Only the Sangannēr inscription gives some details about the next ruler Vaddiga I. It states that he was a 'follower of Kṛishṇa-<sup>113</sup> rāja' meaning thereby that he was a subordinate of the latter. It also adds that he married Voddīyavva, the daughter of Dhōrappa-mahānṛipa. It is possible that he started his career as a subordinate during the reign of Amōghavarsha-Baddega, the father of Kṛishṇa III, as is suggested by his name. Such instances of the feudatories bearing the names or titles of the<sup>ir</sup> overlords are not wanting in Indian history. It is difficult to identify this Dhōrappa, who is described as the father-in-law of Vaddiga. He is identified by<sup>114</sup> Rice with a Paṇḍiyara-Dōrapayya, occurring in an inscription from<sup>115</sup> Kadūr. The latter record is dated in 971 A.D. and states that his queen Pāmbabbe, the elder sister of Būtuga, died after observing penance for thirty years. Rice surmised that on her becoming a widow she renounced all her pleasures and devoted herself to a life of penance. If this is true, the date of Dhōrapayya's death will be 941 A.D.

Kielhorn suggested that this Dhōrappa might be the same as<sup>116</sup> Nirupama, the brother of Kṛishṇa III, on the ground that Dhōrappa is a Prakrit form of Dhruva and the latter king also had the title Nirupama. Katara dismissed this suggestion 'for the simple reason

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113 See foot note 112 above.

114 Ep.Carn., Vol.VI, Introduction p.9.

115 Ibid., Kd.No.1.

116 Ep.Ind., Vol.II, p.215.

that nowhere the fact of Nirupama brother of Kṛishṇa being known as Dhōrappa or Dhruva is mentioned.<sup>117</sup> On the other hand he prefers to identify Dhōrappa with a Chālukya subordinate of Kṛishṇa, of the name Dhōrappayya occurring in an inscription from Bāgaḷi.<sup>118</sup>

It is indeed difficult to equate <sup>this</sup> Dhōrappa with one or the other person of that name. The period of Dhōrappayya of the Kaḍūr record appears to be a bit too early to that of Dhōrappa, the fath-in-law of Vaddiga. Dhōrappayya of the Bāgaḷi record was a small chief, where <sup>as</sup> the Sangannār plates describe him as a mahā-~~prīpa~~ which means a member of the royal family. This epithet would be appropriate for Nirupama, the brother of Kṛishṇa III, who might have had the name Dhruva. Kataré's is only argumentum ad silentio. But Nirupama apparently is not a name but a title. We know that in the same family this title was borne by Dhruva. So it is quite likely that Nirupama had the name Dhruva. The only inscription in which this prince is mentioned <sup>might</sup> ~~must~~ have referred to him by the title only. Thus it is likely that it is the daughter of this Nirupama Dhruva that Vaddiga married.

Kṛishṇa III ruled between 939 A.D. and 967 A.D. But Vaddiga I might have, as pointed <sup>out</sup> above, started his career earlier, during the reign of the <sup>former's</sup> ~~latter's~~ father. A period from 935 A.D. to 970 A.D. may tentatively be fixed for him.

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117 J.I.H., Vol.IXX, p.122.

118 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.64.

Bhillama II:

Bhillama II had to witness major changes in the political situation in the Deccan. After Kṛishṇa III, the Rāshtrakūṭa power began to wane and soon after, in 973 A.D., it was overthrown by Taila II who established the Chālukya suzerainty once again. It is not known if Bhillama continued in the Rāshtrakūṭa service. It is however known <sup>from</sup> <sup>119</sup> his own record that at any rate, after the annihilation of the dynasty of his father's overlords, he recognised the Chālukya authority and served them. It is probable that he also, like his father, remained a subordinate of the Rāshtrakūṭas but when the Chālukya king occupied the throne, though reluctantly, he had, to <sup>shift</sup> ~~change~~ his allegiance to the latter.

It appears that he did not recognise the Chālukya supremacy easily and possibly the Chālukya king had to force him to do so. Though no reference to such a clash between the two is found anywhere, an inscription from Kharepatan seems to hint at it. <sup>is</sup> ~~That~~ <sup>inscription</sup> is a copper-plate record belonging to <sup>the</sup> ~~Silāhāra~~ chief Amantadēva and it is dated in 1095 A.D. In course of giving the genealogical account of Amantadēva's family, the record states that Aparājita <sup>120</sup> (c.975-1010 A.D.) gave protection, among others, to a Bhillama. Bhillama, who was a contemporary of Aparājita, could be none else but Sēūpa Bhillama II. Now, the fact that Bhillama sought ~~abhaya~~ from the <sup>the</sup> ~~Silāhāra~~ chief, shows that the former was involved in some danger. This danger <sup>is</sup> in all probability, must have come from the

119 I.e. Sangamner plates, op.cit

120 Ind.Ant., Vol.IX, p.34, text line 32.



Chālukya king who had then newly assumed powers. It may be that Bhīllama, a trusted feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, did not ~~seemly~~ submit to the subduer of his master till he was forcibly made to do so. A subordinate of limited resources, Bhīllama naturally might not be able to withstand the powerful king and had to flee for help. The only person to whom he could go was the Śīlāhāra since the latter too was one who was not prepared to accept the Chālukya overlordship and did not do so until he was defeated by Taila II's <sup>121</sup> son Satyāśraya.

But later events show that Bhīllama could not escape the subordination to Taila for long. As will be seen below he took active part and he was proud of it - in defeating Muṇja in a fight ~~of~~ the latter <sup>had</sup> with <sup>^</sup>Satyāśraya in about 996 A.D. He apparently Aparājita was of little support to him and he must have submitted to the new rule some time after 993 but before 996 A.D.

Deoras thought that Bhīllama sought Aparājita's protection <sup>122</sup> against the attacks of Paramāra Sindhurāja. But this view is untenable. Firstly there is no evidence to show that Sindhurāja ever attacked Bhīllama and secondly if he had, it would be natural for the latter to seek the protection of the Chālukya king, whose authority he had already accepted, even in the time of Muṇja, the predecessor of Sindhurāja. Again, the Śīlāhāra chief was an enemy of the Chālukya; and a feudatory of Chālukya could not have sought protec-

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121 Indian Culture, Vol.II, pp.405-06.

122 Indica, p.87.

tion of the master's enemy, unless there was a danger from the master himself. So it is more likely that Bhillama sought refuge <sup>with</sup> ~~in~~ the Śilāhāra chief, before he finally accepted the overlordship <sup>123</sup> of Taila II.

Once he became the feudatory, he turned <sup>out</sup> to be a very important ally too! His importance in this respect is well understood when we learn of the political situation during the period and of Bhillama's position therein.

The Paramāra's attack of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire and the plundering of Nānyakhēṭa rang the death-knell of that dynasty and Taila who was till then a minor chief, lost no time in taking advantage of the situation. They <sup>us</sup> ended the Rāshtrakūṭa rule but not the enmity of the Paramāras. Even after Taila's ascending the throne they continued their expansionist policy by leading their troops against the neighbouring countries. This resulted in a series of battles between them and the Chālukya forces and if we are to believe Mērutunga <sup>124</sup> there were at least sixteen such battles. Now Bhillama had a special responsibility in this sort of a situation. Stationed as the governor of Sēūṇadēśa, which was the northern border of the Chālukya territory, the first resistance to the invading

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123 The Baroda Museum plates of Aparājita, dated 993 A.D., refer to ~~Bhillama's~~ <sup>Bhillama's</sup> country as one of the boundaries of Aparājita's territory. There is no reference in this record to the latter's giving protection to Bhillama. May be, the incident took place later than this date though we cannot definitely say so (Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Vol. I, No. VI, p. 5, verse 32).

124 Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi, Ed. Tawney, pp. 35-36.

army was to be put up by him and he must have done so effectively.  
But that he killed Muñja<sup>125</sup> is indeed a tall claim, for we know that<sup>126</sup>  
the latter was imprisoned and killed later on by Taila. This  
claim at any rate shows that Bhillama played a prominent role in  
the last battle with Muñja which resulted in the latter's capture.  
Now the question arises as to when this last battle took place. It  
was generally believed that it was Taila II who fought with Muñja,  
imprisoned and killed him. The death of Muñja was placed between  
993-994 A.D. and 997 A.D., the latter being the date of the death  
of Taila II. But a recently discovered inscription from Chalkur<sup>127</sup>  
throws new light on the point. This record dated in 995 A.D. Febru-  
ary 18, proceeds to state that Mahāmandalēśvara Āhavamalla was on  
the date of the record on his way northwards against Uppala, i.e.  
Utpala, who could be none else but Paramāra Vāspati Muñja. As shown  
by the editor of the record, this Āhavamalla cannot be Taila II him-  
self, since by this time Taila was a full-fledged king bearing all  
paramount titles and could not be just a Mahāmandalēśvara. He  
therefore must have been his son Satyāśraya, who also was known as<sup>128</sup>  
Āhavamalla. Now it is certain that the fight between Āhavamalla  
and Muñja must have taken place some time after February 995 A.D.  
the date of the record, and possibly sometime in 996 A.D. It is  
in this battle that Bhillama must have assisted Rājarāṅgabhīma and

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125 Sangamner plates, op.cit., p.218, text lines 40-41.

126 Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, p.350, text line 3.

127 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXIII, pp.131 ff.

128 S.I.I., Vol.XI, Pt.I, No.52.

became instrumental in capturing Muñja. Rāṇarāṅgabhīma<sup>129</sup> in whose house Bhīllama made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of chastity<sup>129</sup>, was identified with Taila II. But it is now clear from the Chikkerūr record that Bhīllama assisted Satyāśraya and therefore Rāṇarāṅgabhīma will have to be identified with the latter. Ranna ascribes to the latter similar titles such as Bhīma, Sahasabhīma, Rāṇāśraya-srī Nāma Bhīma etc.<sup>130</sup>

Bhīllama II married Lachchhiyavva<sup>131</sup> which has been<sup>132</sup> Sanskritised as Lakshmi<sup>133</sup> and at one place wrongly spelt as Lasthiyavvā. She is described as the daughter of Jhañja and<sup>as</sup> belonging to Rāshṭrakūṭa family (rāshṭrakūṭa-ānvayā).

A rather ambiguous verse occurs with reference to this queen, in the Dēvalāli, Bassein and Āsvi plates. In the Bassein plates it was read as follows:

Yā jātā navābāla-nāia-samayē vad-anvayādhārītā |

Saptāṅgēdvata-rāiyabbhāra-dharanād-rāva-tray-ārgyā tatah ||

In the first line, the editor of the record suggested that bālanāia<sup>134</sup> be corrected to Bālarāia and translated it like this: Lasthiyavvā "who was of the Rāshṭrakūṭa race, as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority) and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms with the

129 Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 215.

130 Gadāyudha, Āsvāsa I, verses 22, 52-53 etc.

131 Dēvalāli plates, line 11.

132 Kalas-Budruk plates, op.cit., p. 120, text line 9.

133 Bassein plates, op.cit., p. 119, text line 9; Āsvi plates, op.cit., p. 3, text line 17.

134 Op.cit., p. 119, foot note 18.

seven aṅgas, was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms." Criticising this translation in a lengthy footnote, Bhandarkar corrected the first line to Yā yātā nava-bāla-lama-samayē yadv-anvay-ādhāratām and translated it as "who became the upholder of the race of Yadu on the occasion of the birth of a new child."<sup>135</sup>

But these many corrections in the reading seem to be far-fetched, particularly in the light of the readings supplied by Āsvi and Dēvalāli plates. The corrected reading bālarāja-samayē suggested by the editor of Bassein plates is found in the Āsvi plates, and the Dēvalāli plates give the reading as follows:

<sup>136</sup>  
Yā iātā ma(na)nu vā(bā)larāja-samayē yadv-anvayādhārī kā

Thus the correction to bālarāja does not hold good. The purport of the verses clearly is that Lachchhiyavva stood by the Yadu family and wielded the reins of the government at the time when the king was an infant. Now the question arises as to when such a contingency arose. She came to the Sūna family as a bride, and ordinarily she would have had to bear any such responsibility when her son was an infant and incapable of looking <sup>after</sup> to the administration, in the absence of her husband. But it is not possible to surmise that her son Vāsugi I was of so young an age at the time of the death of her husband Bhīllama II, for we hear of a grown up grandson of his, viz., Bhīllama III, in the year 1025 A.D.<sup>138</sup> We know that Bhīllama II was

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<sup>135</sup> Op.cit., p.140, foot-note 1.

<sup>136</sup> This is a better reading than nava bālarāja since nava rather redundant, when bāla is already there.

<sup>137</sup> For the reading of Yad-anvaya in Bassein plates, Bhandarkar suggested the correction (op.cit.) now found here.

<sup>138</sup> The Kalas-Budruk plates, op.cit.

alive in 1000 A.D., when he issued his Sanganner plates. Even if we presume that he died the very next year, it is difficult to think that within the next 26 years, there would be a grown up son to his (i.e. Bhillama II's) son, if the latter were an infant at the time of the death of his father. Therefore the responsibility of Lachchhiyavva, who on account of her ably discharging<sup>9</sup> it, was acclaimed by the three kingdoms with which she was connected, will have to be explained otherwise.

In the absence of any conclusive evidence in this regard, it may tentatively be suggested that when Lachchhiyavva took charge of the kingdom, the king who was too young to rule was not her own son but grandson Bhillama III. The long rule of Bhillama II was followed by that of his son Tesugi I, who <sup>might</sup> ~~must~~ have died an early death leaving behind him his infant son Bhillama III. The latter being unable to wield the reins of the government at that time, his able grandmother shouldered the responsibility.

Now Jhañja, the father of Lachchhiyavva, was identified with the Silāhāra chief Jhañjha by Bhandarkar who said that Lachchhiyavva belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family 'on her mother's side'.<sup>139</sup> But it was objected to<sup>140</sup> on the ground that Jhañjha ruled about sixty years earlier than Bhillama whose record is dated 1000 A.D. Katore accepted this and thought that he belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family and was probably a 'collateral'.<sup>141</sup> It is, of course,

139 Bhandarkar, op.cit., p.140.

140 Bom-Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.II, p.513; f.n.4.; Ind.Cult., Vol.II, p.404.

141 J.I.H., p.123.

difficult to identify this Jhañjha with his namesake of the Śilāhāra family on account of both being far removed from each other in point of time. But it is equally difficult to call him a collateral Rāshtrakūṭa. Further, Lachchhiyavva is stated to have upheld the three kingdoms in the verse discussed above. Katare surmised that those kingdoms must be of the Rāshtrakūṭas to which Jhañja belonged, Yādavas, i.e. Sēūnas in which family she was married and the third, the Chālukya "because of the help given by Bhīllama to Taila II in his war against the Paramāra Muñja." <sup>142</sup> But it is curious to think that she became the 'object of reverence' to the Chālukyas on account of her husband's helping the latter. So it will have to be presumed that the three families referred to are (1) family of Jhañjha though it is difficult at this stage to ascertain to which family he exactly belonged, (2) the Rāshtrakūṭa family to which she might have belonged 'on the mother's side' as thought by Bhandarkar and (3) the Sēūna family into which she was married. The Kalas-Budruk plates <sup>143</sup> call her the 'illuminator of the Yādava and Rāshtrakūṭa families.'

We have only one record for Bhīllama II and other records of his successors give little or no information about him. His only record is a set of copper plates found at Sangamnēr in Ahmadnagar District of Mahārāshṭra. It is dated in Śaka 822, Śarvari, Bhādrapada, Amāvāsya, Solar eclipse, the tithi corresponding to

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., pp.123-24.

<sup>143</sup> Op.cit., text-line 9. It has been suggested that Jhañjha might ~~have~~ have belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family of Achalapura (I.H.Q., Vol.XV, pp.620-21). But in that case it remains unexplained as to which was the third family where Lachchhiyavva was held in reverence.

1000 A.D., August 31, Saturday. But the solar eclipse occurred only <sup>144</sup> on the next month on September 30, which, Kielhorn adds was not visible in India.

Bhillama herein is given the feudatory titles Samadhivata, pañchamahōśabda and Mahāsāmanta and he is the first of the Sēūna chiefs to be credited with them. It is likely that his alliance with Sātyāśraya was helpful to him in getting recognition from the latter as his feudatory. He had also other epithets Sellavidega and Vijayābharana. It is after the latter title of his that the Śiva temple founded by him was named as Vijayābharanātha. Another of his title was Saṅgrāma-rāma.

The record further states that Bhillama<sup>g</sup> made a grant of the village Arjunōdhikā, on the banks of the river Mātulingi, with its boundaries Sangamanagara, Chikhalī, Jamvalēnimva and a group of three <sup>called</sup> villages Vavvulavēdra. Also he granted land situated in between Arjunōdhi and Laghu-vavvulavēdra. The grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse at the holy confluence of Arunā and Nāsika. The capital of the king is stated to be Sindinagara which is modern Sinnar in Nasik District and which was made the capital of the family by Sēūnachandra I.

The Dēvalālī plates of his grandson Bhillama III credit him with the construction of two Śiva temples (pura-dvayam) one by name Grāvēsvara and the other Sōmanātha. The former was built of stone while the other of wood.



We have assigned <sup>C.</sup>970 A.D. as the last date of Vaddiga I. The only known date for his son Bhillama is 1000 A.D. As shown above it is unlikely that he lived much longer. The earliest date <sup>145</sup>for his grandson now found is 1025 A.D. and in between these two dates his son Vēsugi I might have ruled. It may be surmised therefore that Bhillama was in power between <sup>C.</sup>970 and 1005 A.D.

Vēsugi I:

No records of Vēsugi I have been found. It is again not known as to how many years he ruled. If at all, he might have done so for a pretty short time. We have seen above that Bhillama's rule probably ended by 1005 A.D. and we know also that his (i.e. Vēsugi's) son was already in power in 1025 A.D. and it is possible that he started his rule from about 1015 A.D. The record of Bhillama of 1025 A.D. states that he granted a village after offering tarpana to his father (pitr). This indicates that Vēsugi had died by then. Further we have seen that Lachchhiyavva held charge of the administration when Bhillama was too young to shoulder the responsibility. This shows that Vēsugi had died much earlier than 1025 A.D., probably in 1015 <sup>A.D.</sup> itself. It may not be wrong therefore to presume that <sup>C.</sup>Vēsugi ruled between 1005 and 1015 A.D.

From the inscriptions of his son and successor Bhillama III, we learn that Vēsugi married a prince<sup>55</sup> named Nāyīyaladēvī, the daughter of a Goggirāja. This Goggirāja <sup>146</sup>is here referred to as Chāluk-ānvaya-mandalika. Bhandarkar who interpreted this expression as the

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145 Kalas Budruk plates, op.cit.

146 In Bassein plates this name is read as Gōgirāja.

mandalika of the Chālukyas, identified Goggirāja with the <sup>147</sup>Śilāhāra chief Goggi. Though the interpretation of the expression is admissible, chronological discrepancy renders it difficult to identify them both, for, <sup>148</sup>Śilāhāra Goggi's approximate period is c.930-945 A.D. Moreover, it was only during the period of his grandson Aparājita that the <sup>149</sup>Śilāhāras accepted the suzerainty of the Chālukyas. Hence <sup>150</sup>Śilāhāra Goggi could not have been a mandalika of the Chālukyas. This Goggirāja has been identified by Fleet <sup>151</sup>with Goggirāja, father of Kīrtirāja, the chief of Lāṭa, whose Surat plates are dated in 1017-18 A.D. Goggirāja's father Bārappa has been referred to in the Prabandhachintāmaṇi as a general of the king of <sup>152</sup>Tilinga who is supposed to be same as the Chālukya king Taila II. But a Goggi belonging to the Chālukya family is introduced in an inscription from <sup>153</sup>Bēvinahalli in Chitaldurg District. It is not unlikely that Goggi, the father-in-law of Vēsugi I, was the same as Goggi of the above record. Chāluk-ānvaya mandalika, in this context, means that he was a mandalika or a feudatory belonging to the Chālukya family.

### Bhillama III:

Bhillama III succeeded his father Vēsugi I in about 1015 A.D.

147 Op.cit., p.141 and footnote 2.

148 Ind.Cult., Vol.II, p.404.

149 Ibid., p.405.

150 Bom.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.ii, p.514, f.n.2.

151 K.B.Pathak Commemoration Volume, pp.287 ff.

152 Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.29. But this is however doubtful for Tilinga stands for Andhra.

153 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Cd.74. Goggi figuring in the Ibid. and Ibid., Vol.III, My.36 appear to be the same as the above.

The earliest date we have for him is 1025 A.D., which is the date of the Kalas Budruk record issued by him.

This inscription is not of much help to us in <sup>mak</sup> ~~having~~ an estimate of his political career. Like his grandfather Bhillama II, he too appears to have been quite ambitious to be an independent ruler, not yielding to the authority of the Chālukyas. References to him in the records, however scanty, indicate that he showed a rather unfriendly ~~some warm~~ attitude towards the Chālukya emperor and at least once or twice he even dared to flout the authority of the latter. This naturally necessitated the Chālukya<sup>s</sup> to suppress Bhillama<sup>s</sup> through his generals.

154 On <sup>the</sup> such reference is found in two inscriptions from Achāpur in Sagar taluk, Shimoga District in Mysore State. Both the inscriptions belong to the reign of Chālukya Jayasīma II and both of them bear the same date, i.e. Śaka 964, Chitrabhānu, Vaiśākha su. Akshaya-tritīyā, Sunday, with the difference that in one of them Chaitra is mistakenly written for Vaiśākha. This date is equivalent to 1042 A.D., April 11. Both the records, while introducing a certain Bijjarasa belonging to a minor Chālukya family, ascribe <sup>to</sup> him the title Bhillama-disāpaṭṭa. This shows that Bijja had an occasion to subdue Bhillama, who can be none else than Sēūna Bhillama III. A similar incident is more clearly stated in another recently discovered inscription. This record from Tadkhēl <sup>155</sup> in Deglur Taluk of Nanded District in Maharashtra belonging to Chālukya Sōmēśvara I is dated in

154 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sa 108-09. There were two Vaiśākhas in this year, the given tithi occurred on Sunday in the Adhika Vaiśākha.

155 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 193.

'Saka 969, Sarvajit, Vaisākha 'su.3, Wednesday, corresponding to 1047 A.D., April 1. In <sup>the</sup> course of describing the exploits of the king's general Nāgavarma of Vāji family, the record narrates that he, in addition to killing a certain Malla 'the lord of the Vindhya' in a fight, 'burnt the Sēūnadēsa with one single-fire-brand.' He is also referred to in the record as Sēūnadisāpatta. Another ~~record~~ <sup>156</sup> record from Sūdi in the Dharwar District of Mysore State, credits Nāgadēva, a general of Sōmēśvara I, with the feat of suppressing Sēguṇa, i.e. Sēūṇa (Sēguṇa-dhvaṃsakam). All these go to show that Bhīllama's relations with the Chālukya <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ more hostile than cordial and <sup>that</sup> the former tried to free himself whenever an opportunity arose, though apparently he could not succeed.

But Sōmēśvara <sup>n</sup> of his part could not allow such things to happen. If he so meant, he could have put ~~him~~ <sup>Bhīllama</sup> down completely by force. But a shrewd politician as he was, he did not like that enmity be bred between him and his subordinate, particularly when the latter was the chief of a strategic area, the Sēūnadēsa, which was the northern frontier of his territory. Moreover, the Sēūṇa chief had the enemies of the Chālukya, for his neighbours. Paramāra Bhōja was a constant danger from this side and a strong man <sup>was needed</sup> to protect the border. ~~was an essential thing.~~ Thus the displeasure of Sēūṇa would mean only a greater danger to the Chālukya kingdom. To add to this, conditions in his southern border were not peaceful. The frequent raids from the Chōla king required his full attention to

be diverted on that side. So the wife<sup>s</sup> policy for him was to make peace with his dissident chief and make him a trusted ally. That he did, by entering with him into matrimonial alliance, by giving his sister Hammā or Avvaladēvi in marriage to Bhillama. This information is supplied to us by Bhillama's own record<sup>157</sup> wherein he calls himself the praudhaṅkākāra, i.e. a lieutenant, of Āhavamalla, i.e. Sōmēśvara I, as also by the record of his son Sēūnachandra II.<sup>158</sup> On the basis of a faulty verse in the latter epigraph Bhagawanlal Indraji thought that Bhillama defeated Āhavamalla and thereafter married the latter's daughter.<sup>159</sup> But from a better reading of the same verse occurring in the Dēvalāli plates (verse 11) it is clear that the reference is to the defeat of the enemies of Āhavamalla and not of Āhavamalla himself. Moreover, as noted above, Bhillama here calls himself an ankākāra and in a later context refers to Āhavamalla and makes a grant of villages included in Āhavamalla-rāshtra. Thus it is evident that, though Bhillama carried on hostilities against Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara in the early stages, his marriage with the latter's sister was not a result of his conquest but of the compromising policy of Sōmēśvara I.

157 Dēvalali plates, op.cit., verse 9.

158 Bassein plates, op.cit., verse 9.

159 "There are more details about this king which seem on the whole to mean that he fought with Āhavamalla a great Chālukya king (1040-69). This king seems to have gained a victory over him, and the fact of his having assumed 'universal sovereignty or Chakravartipada' among kings would seem to show that he attained power and extended his dominions; at least that his kingdom was in a very flourishing state under his rule. And in connection with his victory, it seems quite in consonance with Rajput practice, that he married the

This alliance was not without advantage to Sōmēśvara. Bhīllama became very helpful to him in defeating the Paramāra king Bhōja who bore a traditional enmity with the Chālukya family. We came to know, for the first time, of Bhīllama's role in this battle, from the Dēvalāli plates. This inscription is dated in Śaka 974 (1052 A.D.) and though it does not refer to any fight of his with the Paramāra king, states that a Śrīdhara-danḍanāyaka, who was appointed by Mālava-Bhōja to guard the fort of Ēnakai, surrendered that fort to Bhīllama. This statement apparently purports to mean that Bhīllama had an easy victory over Śrīdharadanḍanāyaka. It is quite likely that it was a phase of Sōmēśvara's conquest of Bhōja, which might have taken place sometime in 1050-51 A.D. This could not have been an independent exploit of Bhīllama. It is indeed difficult to identify this Ēnakai. But it is certain that it was in the territory of <sup>the</sup> Paramāras.

Of the officials and subordinate chiefs of Bhīllama, the Kalas-Budruk plates mention Māṇava-nāyaka who is called the Mahā-pradhāna. He is stated to be the son of Śrīvatsanāyaka, the grandson of Padmanābha and the great grandson of Śrībhaṭṭa. The last person migrated, apparently to Sēṇadēśa, from Takkārikā in Madhyadēśa.

Another of his subordinates was Śrīdhara-danḍanāyaka, who  
sister of Āhavamalla and daughter of Jayasīṃha by name Avvaladēvī, such marriage being regarded as cementing ties after hostilities." Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 125.

\* 160 Op.cit., verse 11.

was originally in the service of Mālava-Bhōja but changed his allegiance after the defeat at the hands of Bhīllama. Śrīdhara-danḍanāyaka's father and grandfather Pavvaṇa-nāyaka and Sillana-nāyaka respectively were also in the service of <sup>the</sup> Paramāras and Sillana-nāyaka, too, like Śrībhātṭa referred to above, migrated 161 to the Paramāra country from a village named Ūyārī in Mādhyadēsa.

The Dēvalāli plates mention two more chiefs, Maṇḍa-sāmanta and Śrīpati-sāmanta, in the presence of whom the grant was made. No details are known about them.

The Kalas-Budruk plates, which were issued by Bhīllama, and which give the earliest date for him known so far, are dated in Śaka 948, Kṛīḍhana, Kārtika, solar eclipse corresponding to 1025 A.D., November 23. On the date of this record he was stationed at his capital Sindinagara on the bank of Dēvanadī. This river is identified with Śiv or Śivanadī flowing close by Sinnar with which the former place has been identified. The purpose of the record is to grant a village named Kalāsa to Mahāpradhāna Māṇava-nāyaka and twentyfive other brāhmanas. The village Kalāsa is the same as Kalas-Budruk, the findspot of the plates.

The Dēvalāli plates, dated in 1052 A.D. records a grant by Bhīllama to Śrīdhara-danḍanāyaka, of four villages, viz., Kōṇamvā, Trayī, Pippala[tthā] and Māṅgalajumrahara.

161 Dēvalāli plates, op.cit.

162 ~~Vāgḍī Inscription, op.cit.~~

We cannot be definite about the last date of Bhillama. The next record we have of the family is dated in 1069 A.D.<sup>162</sup> But as will be seen below between ~~this date~~ <sup>and 1069</sup> and 1052 A.D., the latest date we have for him, <sup>and 1069 A.D.</sup> governorship passed through two or three hands. We may tentatively therefore surmise that his rule ended in about 1055 A.D.

### Sēūnachandra II and the first Civil War:

Paucity of records prevent us from having a clear picture of what transpired in the Sēūna house, during the next few years. The few records of Bhillama's successors that have come down to us, are very vague and Hēmādri supplies no information, ~~at all~~, except enumerating, in order, the names of those whom he thought to have succeeded their predecessors. But what has been stated, though vaguely, in the records seems to show that there was some scramble for power between rival claimants in which Sēūnachandra II emerged successful.

The Bassein plates, the earliest dated record of this chief, say<sup>163</sup> that next to Bhillama came Sēūnachandra, who was born 'in his family'.<sup>163</sup> Dēvalāli plates, containing a record of his also, and the Āsvi plates of his son, confirm it. The latter further states that Sēūnachandra lifted up the kingdom 'after the death of Bhillama' as did god Hari, in the form of the boar.<sup>164</sup> The Dēvalāli epigraph says the same thing but in different words. According to it "Sēūnachandra lifted up his (own) kingdom (svakam rāshṭram) which was being sub-

<sup>162</sup> Vaghli Inscription, Op.cit.

<sup>163</sup> Op.cit., verse 10 tad-vaṁs-ōdbhava-Sēūnēdu-nripatih etc.

<sup>164</sup> Op.cit., text line 28.



merged on account of the destruction by (his) dāyādins".<sup>165</sup> Thus all the three records show that there was a major disturbance so far as the kingdom was concerned and according to the latter epigraph, Sēūnachandra's dāyādins were responsible for it. Who then were those dāyādins? Hēmādri comes to our help here. He introduces, in between Bhīllama III and Sēūnachandra II three more <sup>princes,</sup> named Vaddiga II, <sup>166</sup> Vāsugi II and Bhīllama IV. It has been shown in Section I(B) above that these three were Sēūnachandra's father, his brother and the latter's son respectively. It is quite possible that Vaddiga II predeceased his father and at that time Sēūnachandra was not of <sup>so</sup> ripe <sup>an</sup> age, ~~(30)~~ as to succeed his grandfather. Taking advantage of this situation, his uncle and his son might have tried to usurp the throne to the exclusion of Sēūnachandra who was the rightful claimant. But Sēūnachandra, who was quite a powerful prince ~~with good connections,~~ <sup>have</sup> could not tolerate this. It is these dāyādins, his uncle and cousin, that he had to oust and thus 'lift up his own kingdom'. It is quite likely that Bhīllama IV died in this struggle.

It appears that Sēūnachandra sought the assistance of the Śilāhāra chief Bhōja in his endeavour to get back his kingdom. The Kolhapur plates of Śilāhāra Gaṇḍayāditya dated in 1115 A.D.<sup>167</sup> state

165 Op.cit., text lines 42-43.

166 Op.cit., p.193, verse 26 ff.

✓ 167 Sources Med.Hist.Deccan, Vol.I, pp.33 ff. The actual expression here is Bhīllam-ōdbandhakrit. This expression is taken to mean by the editor of the record, that he, i.e. Bhōja 'liberated (ud-bandha) Bhīllama'. Construing this along with another expression, Govinda-pralay-āntakah, occurring just previous to this, he further conjectured that Sēūnachandra imprisoned Bhīllama IV and occupied the throne with the help of Gōvinda, who was a subordinate of Bhīllama.

that his brother and predecessor Bhōja, vanquished Gōvinda and killed Bhillama. This Bhillama is wrongly identified by the editor of the record with Bhillama III.<sup>168</sup> So far as Gōvinda is concerned, he is identified with the Maurya chief of that name, figuring in the Vāghali inscription of Sēūnachandra.<sup>169</sup> But on chronological ground<sup>s</sup>, Bhillama, the contemporary of Bhōja, would be Bhillama IV. Both Bhōja and Bhillama were the allies of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, and it is not unnatural if they helped each other.

It is not known when this <sup>civil war</sup> ~~revolution~~ took place. But certainly it must have been over by 1069 A.D. <sup>by</sup> ~~on~~ which date Bhillama IV was dead and Sēūnachandra's rule was established. Allowing a few years for him to settle after the revolution, it may tentatively be said to have taken place in 1065 A.D.

Another event in Sēūnachandra's political career was ~~to~~ his <sup>ance to</sup> assist Vikramāditya VI in <sup>the latter's</sup> ~~his~~ fight with his brother, whom he succeeded in deposing from the throne. He must have joined the Chālukya prince in his struggle after 1069 A.D., since his Bassein plates

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But the Śilāhāra Bhōja suppressed Gōvinda and liberated Bhillama (Ibid., p.34). This line of argument was followed in toto by Kataré (J.I.H., pp.128-29). But this does not seem to be <sup>the</sup> correct position. Firstly udbandha means 'hanging' (Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v. udbandha) and this means that he was the 'killer' of Bhillama and not the liberator. At least the term udbandha means that the Śilāhāra chief imprisoned Bhillama. Secondly the above argument <sup>s</sup>presumed enmity between Bhōja and Sēūnachandra. But there is no evidence to substantiate it.

168 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXVII, p.178. But the same editor has rightly identified him with Bhillama IV in Sou.Med.Hist.Dec., Vol.I, p.34.

bearing this date do not refer to it. The earliest reference to this is found in the <sup>later account of</sup> Dēvalāli epigraph which however gives no date. According to its statement, he by his prowess, lifted and established the Chālukya-vamśa, which was being drowned. <sup>170</sup> Hēmādri also concurs with this statement, when he says that <sup>Sēūnachandra</sup> ~~he~~ placed Paramardin <sup>171</sup> (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) on the Kalyāṇa throne. It may be noted however that Sēūnachandra's son Āiramnadēva is also credited with this act, "of defeating the unconquerable Bhuvanaikamalla and giving the kingdom to Paramardin". <sup>172</sup> Obviously ~~he helped his~~ <sup>both and son</sup> father, <sup>joined in</sup> Vikramāditya's fight with Sōmēśvara II.

But Sēūnachandra's alliance with Vikramāditya naturally enraged Sōmēśvara <sup>II</sup>, whose vassal Sēūnachandra was. Apparently for this reason he sent his another chief Chiddana-chōḷa of the Telugu Chōḷa family to subdue him, as can be seen from a recently discovered <sup>173</sup> inscriptions from Bichapalli in Alampur taluk of Andhra Pradesh. It states that on the 28th December 1074 (It is dated in Śaka 996, Ānanda, Pushya <sup>su.8</sup>, Sunday) the Telugu Chōḷa chief made a grant on his return from the northern expedition when he defeated and captured the Sēgūṇa. This Sēgūṇa can be none else than Sēūnachandra II. But the Chōḷa's claim to have defeated and captured the Sēgūṇa seems to be just a boast, for Sēūnachandra's alliance with Vikramāditya VI was fruitful and the latter was placed on the throne of Kalyāṇa with in the next one and a half years, i.e. in 1076 A.D.

169 Ep.Ind., Vol.II, pp.225 ff.

170 Text lines 43-44. 171 Op.cit., p.194, verse 29.

172 Āsvi plates, op.cit., text lines 28 ff.

173 A.R.I.E., 1960-61, No.B.81.

Sēūnachandra's alliance with the victor Vikramāditya was beneficial to the former. His position in the northern border was strengthened and he could extend his territory still <sup>Su</sup>orthwards. The Dēvalāli plates credit him with the overlordship of the Southern region 'including the Narmadā<sup>174</sup>' while Sēūnap<sup>u</sup>para continued to be his capital.

Among his subordinate chiefs and officers, Gōvindarāja belonged to the Maurya family. He appears as one of the donors in the Vāghali inscription. His predecessors are stated to have migrated from Valabhī in Saurāshtra. Others, as mentioned in the Bassein epigraph, are dandanāyaka Śrīdhara, Mahāmātya Vāsudevayya, mahāpradhāna, nāyaka Bhābhīyāka (Bhāshīnāyaka?), Sandhivijarahi Śrī-nāyaka Pāṭalākaraṇi Bhalsavayya-nāyaka, rājādhyakṣa Apayyāka and Mahattama Amāditya.

It is not impossible that Śrīdhara-dandanāyaka is the same as the one who surrendered the fort of Enakai to Bhīllama III. The last date of Sēūnachandra cannot be fixed with certainty. But it is clear that he lived at least <sup>a</sup>few years after the coronation of Vikramāditya VI, which took place in 1076 A.D. May be, he lived upto c. 1080 A.D.

We have three records for Sēūnachandra. The earliest of them is the Vāghali inscription, dated in Śaka 991, Saumya, Āshāḍha, solar eclipse, corresponding to 1069 A.D., July 21, Tuesday. The record is broken into three pieces and as a result, good many

details are lost. Its purport is to record the building of the temple of Siddhēśvara by the Maurya chief Gōvindarāja, the grant of the two villages, Sangamī and Madhuvāṭikā by Sēūnachandra as also some other grants by Gōvindarāja himself, for such purposes as the worship of the god and the feeding of the brāhmanas and the students.

Next in date is the Bassein epigraph which is dated only a fortnight later, i.e. in Śaka 991, Saunya, Śrāvana śu.14, Thursday, corresponding to 1069 A.D. The purpose of this epigraph is to record a grant of the village Chinchulī, situated in the division of Simhi twelve, to pālaguru Sarvadēvāchārya, the disciple of Sōmadēva.

The third record of his is the Dēvalālī plate. This inscription is found on the 2nd side of the last plate of the record of Chhillama III. This portion is rather damaged. Obviously this was engraved at a later date. This record does not contain any date; but since it refers to the Chālukya's (i.e. Vikramāditya VI's) installation on the throne, it has to be placed later than 1076 A.D. The purpose of the epigraph is to record the grant of the village Dēvalavallī to a certain Kumāradēva. Devalavallī is apparently the modern Dēvalālī, the findspot of the plates, in Nasik District.

#### Āiramnadēva:

Sēūnachandra II had two sons, Āiramnadēva and Singhana I and the former succeeded him. The only historical information we get about him is that he defeated the Chālukya king Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara II and got the kingdom for Paramardīn (Vikramāditya VI). As has been noted above, Āiramnadēva must have, during the rule of his father, helped Vikramāditya in the latter's fight with his

brother. This he did, as a subordinate of the Chālukya king. Āiramma's wife was a ~~centain~~ Yōgallā.

We have seen that during the period of Āirammadēva's father, Sēūpadēsa extended upto the river Narmadā. It continued to be so during the period of Āirammadēva. His only record, the Īsvi plates which <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ dated in Śaka 1020, Bahudhānya, Vaiśākha, Monday, Amāvasyā, corresponding to 1098 A.D., May 10, states that he made a grant of a village, while camping at Narmadāpura on the bank of Narmadā. A pointed reference is made to Sēūpadēsa, which apparently extended upto Narmadā.<sup>175</sup> The village granted was Kōṃkaṇa grāma situated in Sangamanēra Eightyfour, a subdivision of Śrīnagara Two and a half thousand.

On the basis of just one record it is difficult to fix the date for Āirammadēva. As the record of his brother Siṃharāja,<sup>176</sup> Singhana or Sēūpadēva is dated in 1126 A.D. a period between 1080 A.D. to 1110 A.D. may be tentatively prescribed for him.

#### Singhana I:

Āirammadēva was succeeded by his brother Singhana I. Hēṃādri calls him Siṃharāja. On chronological grounds, he can be easily identified with Singhana of Kalēgaon and Paithan plates, and Sēūpadēva of the Gadag inscription. Sēūpadēva of the Āñjanēri ins-<sup>177</sup>cription also seems to be the same as this Singhana I. Not much

175 Op.cit., p.14, text line 36 ff. The name of this chief is here wrongly read as Irammadēva.

176 A.E.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.89.

177 Ind.Ant., Vol.XII, pp.126 ff.

can be known about this chief, from his Añjanēri inscription which is dated in 1142 A.D. But one or two inscriptions discovered of late, furnish some interesting information about him. Earliest of them <sup>is</sup> from Honatti <sup>178</sup> in Haveri taluk of Dharwar District in Mysore State. This inscription is very interesting, so far as the Sēūna history is concerned, in more than one way. It introduces to us Mahāmaṇḍal<sup>178</sup>ēśvara Siṃhadēva as governing Sēgunadēśa and Paliyaṇḍa-Four thousand. This chief is stated to be the subordinate of Vikramāditya VI. The record is dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 48, Śōbhakrit, Māgha, Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Saṅkrānti, solar eclipse, corresponding to 1124 A.D., February 17. There was however no eclipse on that day. Sēgunadēśa of the present record is no doubt Sēūnadēśa and apparently the governor <sup>of</sup> that territory, Siṃhanadēva is the same as Sēūna Siṃghana I. It is known that the Sēūnas were the subordinates of the Chālukyas and that Singhana I's elder brother Āirama-dēva was a scion of Vikramāditya VI. Obviously Singhana I too continued in that position. The inscription further shows that the Sēūnas were slowly extending their influence southwards and by now they had annexed to their territory the new division of Paliyaṇḍa-Four thousand. The name of this division appears in two other inscriptions as Paliyaṇḍa-nālsāira <sup>179</sup> and Pratyāṇḍaka-chatussahasra. <sup>180</sup> The former inscription is dated in 1048 A.D., and belongs to the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I. The other one is dated in 1082 A.D. and belongs to Vikramāditya VI. The latter record shows that the divi-

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178 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.89.

179 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No. 108

180 Ep.Ind., Vol.III, pp 310-11

sion was under the control of the chiefs of a minor Sinda family. But some time after that, at least by 1124 A.D., as is evident from the Honnatti inscription, the Sēūṇa Singhana established his authority on this division, though the reason for this change over is not clear. But the Sēūṇa control over this division seems to have <sup>been</sup> lost in course of time and Bhillama V had had an occasion to fight with the chief of this district years later. This division comprised of parts of Osmānabād District of the present day Maharashtra, Pratyāṇḍaka or Paliyanda having been rightly identified with Parēṇḍa in that District.

The record <sup>181</sup> further associates Singhana with Honnavatti, an agrahāra in Banavāsi-country. This of course did not form part of the division under his control but was his personal fief, because the very inscription states that the ~~xxx~~ small division with this place as its headquarters was governed by the Gutta chief Jōma or Jōyidēva I, who was another feudatory of the Chālukya king. This again is the first Kannada record which associates the Sēūṇa chiefs with <sup>the</sup> Kannada area.

Kālēgaon plates of Mahādēva and Paṭṭan plates of Rāma-chandra ascribe <sup>to</sup> him the title Sāhasāṅka and likewise credit him with victories which seem to be more conventional than real. He is stated to have gained victory over the kings of Karnāṭa, Pāṇḍya and Gūrjara. Karnāṭa king obviously was Hoysala. Subordinate as he was, Singhana could not have independently attacked the Hoysala. It is likely that he took part in one or the other campaigns led by Vikramāditya



VI. He must have assisted his overlord in one of his attacks of the Gūnjara country. He is also credited with vanquishing the Pāṇḍya chief and erecting a (victory) pillar on the sea shore.<sup>182</sup>  
~~But it is a tall story!~~

An inscription from Tērdāl,<sup>183</sup> dated in 1187 A.D. introduces a general of Sōmēśvara IV, named Bhōjadēva and described the latter's father, Tējugi as Simhaṇarāya-saila-nirdhārana-vaira, i.e. a thunderbolt to the mountain in the form of Simhaṇarāja. This Simhaṇarāya is no doubt Siṅghana I, though it is rather inexplicable as to why a conflict arose between the two. From the date of the inscription, when his son Bhōjadēva was in office, it is possible to surmise that Tējugi lived during the period of Jagadēkamalla II, probably as his subordinate. Siṅghana too seems to have been a feudatory of the same king.

So far as his subordinate officers are concerned, the Honnatti inscription mentions his minister as Ullaharāja, who was stationed at Honnavatti to look after that place which was his personal fief. Honnavatti is modern Honnatti where the inscription is found. Another of his ministers was Pāṇumadaurī mentioned in the Añjanēri inscription.

Hēmādri credits Siṅghana with "bringing the elephant Karpūratilaka from Lāñjīpura and completing the decoration of the Karpuravana <sup>of</sup> Paramardin".<sup>184</sup> This evidently refers to a success-

182 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, p. 38, verse 6.

183 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 20.

184 Op. cit., page 194, verse 32.

ful attack led by Singhana <sup>on</sup> ~~to~~ Lañjipura on behalf of his overlord Paramardin, i.e. Vikramāditya VI. It was suggested that Lañjipura was the same as modern Tanjore. But it is extremely unlikely<sup>ly</sup> that Singhana led an expedition as far south as Tanjore. Even though Vikramāditya VI attacked the Chōla kingdom, it must have been his southern feudatories who assisted him then. The suggestion that Lañjipura is modern Lāñjī in Balaghat district of Madhya Pradesh is more probable.<sup>185</sup> This Lāñjipura during this period was governed by some minor chiefs, who owed allegiance to the Kalachuris of Ratnapuri.<sup>186</sup> It is likely that the chief of Lāñjī was engaged in hostilities on the borders of Sēūnadēśa and Singhana suppressed him in right time and submitted him to the rule of Vikramāditya VI. Singhana had a pretty long rule for him. He survived not only Vikramāditya but the latter's son Sōmēśvara III also. His Anjanēri inscription of 1142 A.D. places him in the reign of the next Chālukya successor Jagadēkamalla II. He might have lived a few years later probably till 1145 A.D.

Mallugi I, Amaragāṅgēya and Gōvindarāja:

Singhana I was succeeded by Mallugi I. Hēmādri states that he "captured the city of Parṇakhēṭa for the purpose of his residence and snatched away the elephants of the king of Utkala."<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> J.I.H., Vol.XXX, p.130, f.n.138.

<sup>186</sup> An inscription of Jājalladēva I Kalachuri king of Ratnapurā claims to have vanquished Lāñjī, C.I.I., Vol.IV, Part 11, No.77, pp.409 ff.

<sup>187</sup> Op.cit., page 194, verse 34.

Though Parnakhē<sup>t</sup><sub>188</sub> can be identified with Pālkhēḍ or Pānakhēḍa in Dhulia District, it is difficult to identify the ruler of that <sup>189</sup> area whom Mallugi defeated. A recently discovered inscription at Bcradi in Sirpur taluk of Dhulia District refers to a Mēlugi son of Singhanadēva. Though the inscription is not dated, it is likely that Mēlugi is identical with Mallugi I. It is not known if his son Amaragāṅgēya and the latter's son Gōvindaraja ruled at all. Amaragāṅgēya is mentioned in one or two records while Gōvinda-rāja is known from Hēmādri alone.

The rule of these princes was quite uneventful and must have been very short too. The next prince Mallugi II figures in an <sup>190</sup> inscription of 1162 A.D. It is possible therefore that he had come to throne at least by 1160 A.D. So the short period of 15 years must be assigned to all these three princes. We do not know however if all of them ruled at all.

This period is in a way to be described as the dark period in the history of the Sēūnas, since we know nothing of the activities of the Sēūna chiefs then. The political conditions also were fast changing. Taila III who succeeded Jagadēkamalla II in 1149-50 A.D., had to face a military coup from his subordinate Kalachurya Bijjala which cost him his very kingdom. It is not known what part the Sēūnas played in this feud. It is doubtful if they stood by their master, ~~at all~~. Probably they did not. Convinced of the weakness of

188 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 210.

189 Saṁśōdhaka, Vol. XXVI, p. 80.

the Chālukya king they seem to have been watching the developments with interest, being whipped up by ambitions. At any rate they did not accept the authority of the Kalachurya usurper. In fact, Mallugi II put an effective opposition to Bijjala II as we shall see presently.

### Mallugi II:

With Mallugi II, the Sōūnas enter into the arena of the struggle for power. Mallugi not only refused to accept the suzerainty of Bijjala II, but also came into conflict with him.

191 Jalhana, the author of Sūktimuktāvalī, in the introductory part says: "In the service of Mallugi was a general named Dādā whose very sight frightened the army of Bijjala. His son Mahīdhara also defeated the latter's army." This Bijjala seems to be no other than Kalachuri Bijjala II, the usurper of the Chālukya throne. The clashes between the two must have been frequent as has been indicated by Sūktimuktāvalī. Mallugi's general Dādā took part in one such and his son Mahīdhara in another. Now Bijjala II ruled till 1167 A.D., though he was associated with the governance of the kingdom for some time later, <sup>192 therefore</sup> and Mallugi's encounters with him must have taken place sometime before 1167 A.D.

Another power that Mallugi came in conflict with was the Kākatīya king. The latter too was trying to make inroads into the

190 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 12 ff.

191 Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. Lxxxv, verses 4 ff.

192 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 476.

Chālukya territory and a clash with him was quite natural for Mallugi. The only source that gives us this information is the <sup>193</sup> Annakonda inscription of Kākatīya Rudradēva who, the record says, defeated Mallugi. Though the family of this Mallugi is not specified in the record, there is hardly any ~~in~~ difficulty in identifying him with Sēūpa Mallugi II as Kielhorn did. <sup>194</sup> Rama Rao, however, objected to this identification on the ground that "Yādava and Kākatīyas were still distant enough from each other at this time and did not become neighbouring powers in order that they could have come <sup>195</sup> into conflict with each other." But we have seen above that even during the time of Singhapa I, the Sēūpas had moved southwards and Paliyapaṇḍa Four-thousand was under their control. This division comprising the area in Osmanābād District was not too far from the territory of the Kākatīyas. Moreover, Mallugi's encounters with Bijjala must have taken place on the borders of the latter's territory which also show that Mallugi was then in the southern districts. Another objection of Rama Rao is that Mallugi is connected with Polavāsadēsa which he identifies with the area round about Polasā in Karimnagar District. But the text of the inscription shows that Mallugi need not be connected with this division. It is quite possible to think that Rudradēva's overpowering Polavāsadēsa was a separate conquest of his, having nothing to do with Mallugi. Further, Rama Rao points out

193 Ind.-Ant., Vol.XI, pp. 12 ff.

194 Ibid., p. vol. XXI, p 198.

195 Kākatīyas of Warangal, p. 12.

that the inscription would have mentioned the family of Mallugi "had he belonged to an independent ruling family." But certainly the Sēūnas till then were only the feudatories of the Chālukyas and not recognised as an independent ruling family at all. Rama Rao's contention that Mallugi was a feudatory governing 'a small principality in the neighbourhood of Annakonḍa' is not correct especially in view of the fact that no such feudatory <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ so far known to have been ruling in that area.

But it is obvious that Mallugi's military activities were of little consequence. His fights with Bijjala did not much disturb the Kalachurya rule as can be seen from the absence of any reference to him in their records as also from the fact that they continued to rule undisturbed years after Bijjala II. But what Mallugi could not <sup>achieve</sup> his successor achieved. Bhīllama V kept up this struggle and he once again attacked the Kalachurya, this time Bijjala III and defeated him. But he had to meet a stronger opponent in Sōmēśvara IV, who by now had succeeded in re-establishing the Chālukya kingdom. In the initial stages at least, Bhīllama had to suffer a set back at the hands of the latter. But his continued efforts brought him success. Soon after, Sōmēśvara left his capital Kalyāṇa and retired to Jayantipura thus making the way clear for Bhīllama who shortly afterwards established himself as a fullfledged monarch, assuming all regal titles. It is during his period that the Sēūna dynasty saw its rise.

## CHAPTER III

### THE RISE

#### Bhillama V and Jaitugi I

##### Bhillama V

##### Bhillama and the Second Civil War:

The succession of Bhillama was not smooth. The way in which Hēmādri has put it hints that he was not the natural or rightful heir too. He seems to have ~~actually~~ seized the power from his brother's son though Hēmādri tries to justify this deed of his by saying that he deserved it. He says:

Atha Kāliyaballālah pālayāmāsa mēdinīm ||  
Mahīpatēs-tasya vihāya putrān guṇ-ānuraktā  
Yaduvamśa-Lakshmīh |  
Śrī Bhillamam tasya tatah pitriṇyaṁ-avyājarājad-  
bhujam-ājagāma ||<sup>1</sup>

It is evident from this that Kāliyaballāla succeeded Mallugi II and naturally his son must have succeeded the <sup>former</sup> ~~latter~~. It has been shown above that Bhillama was the pitriṇya of the son of Kāliyaballāla rather than of Kāliyaballāla himself. In Hēmādri's words, the goddess of the Yadu kingdom 'left' the son of Kāliyaballāla and went to Bhillama, since she 'loved the virtues' (guṇānūraktā) possessed by the latter. It is clear thus that Bhillama was quite an ambitious man and strong too and his brother's son who came to power was weak and incapable of governing. This encouraged Bhillama

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1 Op.cit., p.194, verses 36-37.

to oust his nephew and usurp the Sēūṇa throne. It is not surprising that this incident is not referred to in any of his records; for how can one call himself a usurper?

#### Early Days:

It is not possible to say when precisely this revolution took place. It must have been earlier than Bhillama's assuming the regal status. Because, after he wrested powers from his nephew and claimed to be the rightful governor of Sēūṇadēśa, he had to fight well contested battles with his neighbours until finally he established himself as the king.

When Bhillama came to power, the political situation also was favourable to him. The successors of Kalachurya Bijjala, whom Mallugi had unsuccessfully opposed, were not as ambitious as Bijjala. The Chālukya was striving hard to regain the lost glory. The Hoysalas from the South were trying to push through upwards. The Kākatīyas in the east also were not quiet. This situation of uncertainty all around became an attraction for Bhillama to move southwards. 'Here is a golden opportunity' he thought 'to raise the Sēūṇa family to imperial status' and hastened towards the erstwhile kingdom of the Chālukyas, which <sup>by</sup> now had become the bone of contention of rival powers.

Bhillama's  
~~His~~ expedition was not very smooth. On his way, Bhillama attacked some minor chiefs and probably annexed their principalities to his territory. Jalhana and Rēmādri give some details regarding these encounters. It is however certain that neither of them narrate the events in strict chronological order; nor could these events



have followed in quick succession. Hēmādri enumerates the conquests of Bhillama as follows:

Yah Śrīvardhanam-āsasāda nagaram kshōnipatēr-Antalāt  
 Yah Pratyandaka-bhūbhritam cha samarē dushtam vyaiśha  
 kshanāt |  
 Yō vā Maṅgalavēṣṭakam kshītipatīm śrī Bhillanam jaghnivān  
 Kalyāṇasriyam-apyā-avāpya vidadhē yō Hōsalāsam vyasum ||<sup>2</sup>

Jalhana says:

Mallab pallavit-ōrubhītir-abhitas-trasyad-balō Mailugi-  
 r-Muñiah khamīta-vikramas-Tribhuvana-Brahmā kila brāhmaṇah |  
 Annō nunna-parākramō viīta-bhūn-babhyū rana-prāṅganē  
 Yē-ākārī Murāri-vikrama-bhritā kim kim na tasy-ōritam ||<sup>3</sup>

If Śrīvardhana mentioned by Hēmādri is to be identified with the present Śrīvardhana near Poona in Maharashtra,<sup>4</sup> this will have to be considered as Bhillama's first encounter on his southern expedition. Antala who is described as the lord of Śrīvardhana is not known from any other source. He might be, however, the same as Anna mentioned by Jalhana.

Bhillama next attacked the king of Pratyandaka. It has already been seen that Pratyandaka, which was also known as Paliyanda,

2 Op.cit., p.194, verse 38.

3 Jalhana, op.cit., verse 12.

4 Proc.I.H.C., 1945, p.99. It is said that Girivardhana, a city which Hoysala Ballāla II is stated to have vanquished, along with Sēūpa army, is the same as Śrīvardhana (Ep.Carn., Vol.XV, p. 105, text lines 28-29). But it is doubtful if <sup>the</sup> Hoysala <sup>at</sup> ~~any~~ time led his army as far north as Poona.

the headquarters of  
was a division of four thousand villages and it is identified with modern Parāṇḍa in the Osmanabad District of Maharashtra. During the early years of the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, this division was under the control of the chiefs of a minor Sinda family but later it was transferred to Sēūṇa Singhana I.<sup>5</sup> It is not known how or why it again left the hands of the Sēūṇas, necessitating Bhillama to retake it. Jalhana as we have noted above mentions a Muñja as an adversary of Bhillama. No chief of the name Muñja in this period is as yet known to us. It is interesting to note however that prior to Singhana I, when Paliyaṇḍa four thousand was under the Sindas, the governor of that territory was a Muñja. But his date (i.e. 1082 A.D.) is too early for Bhillama. It is possible in the context, that a later member of the same family bearing the same name was again in control of that division and that Bhillama had to subdue him.

Thus Bhillama on his way Southwards conquered Śrīvardhana near Poona and moved down to Parāṇḍa. He was now near Kalyāṇa which was under the Kalachurya king and Bhillama came into conflict with him also.<sup>6</sup> Mailugi, whom Jalhana mentions as another adversary of Bhillama, should be identified with the Kalachurya king of that name

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 72-73.

<sup>6</sup> This Mailugi was supposed by Bhandarkar to have belonged to a minor branch of Yādava family (op.cit., p.148, f.n.2). P.Srinivasachar thought him to be Amaramallugi himself, "from whose grand children Bhillama wrested Yādava power." (Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.II p.49). But this surmise is not correct. Between Amara Mallugi and Bhillama, at least a generation passed and Bhillama had a clash with Mallugi's grand children and not with Mallugi himself.

the son of Bijjala II. It has been observed earlier that the Sēūnas did not like the Kalachurya usurpation and they did not also accept their authority.<sup>7</sup> Mallugi opposed Bijjala II, and his successor also quite naturally came in conflict with Mailugi. Later again, after he had attained imperial status, Bhillama had to fight with the last of the Kalachuryas, Bijjala III. His encounter with Mailugi<sup>might</sup> have taken place some time before 1176 A.D.<sup>8</sup> which is the last known date for Mailugi. It is quite likely that Bhillama came to power in about 1170 A.D. or a little earlier, though it took at least fifteen more years for him to reach imperial status.

Bhillama's attack of the Kalachurya king was more helpful to the Chālukya king than to himself. The Kalachurya power was now on the decline and Bhillama's attack must have hastened its downfall. The Chālukya also was strengthening his position and <sup>was</sup> ultimately ~~was~~ able to lay a successful seige to Kalyāṇa, and oust the Kalachuryas who had to accept his overlordship.<sup>9</sup>

Bhillama had now to face a more formidable enemy in Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV or <sup>more</sup> precisely, his most able general Barma. The

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7 On the basis of an inscription from Māḍgiḥāl (Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 315 ff.), it was concluded that Bhillama was a subordinate of Kalachuryas. (Ind. Hist. Cong. Vol. X, p. 102) But this view is incorrect. The said inscription is a composite one containing grants made by different persons on different dates. Apparently it was engraved at a later date, but referred to the grants made earlier. Thus it contains grants made during the periods of Kalachuri kings Rāyamūrāri Sōvidēva and Sankama and Sēūṇa Bhillama. quite a few composite records of this nature are known.

Chālukya's conquest of the Kalachurya must have been over by 1180 A.D., since an inscription belonging to the former king and dated in 1184 A.D., states that his general Barma killed Saṅkama<sup>10</sup> who can be no other than the Kalachurya king of that name and whose last date is 1180 A.D.<sup>11</sup> We also know<sup>12</sup> that Sōmēśvara started counting his regnal year from 1182 A.D.<sup>12</sup> Bhīllama evidently did not side with either of the parties; on his own, however, he challenged the authority of the Chālukya. Details of the fights between the two are not available, but the inscription of 1184 A.D. referred to above speaks of the flight of Bhīllama from the battle field.<sup>13</sup> Another inscription<sup>14</sup> of the same date (i.e. 1184 A.D.) also says that Sōmēśvara was camping at Kuppā, on the bank of Gautamī, after having subdued Bhīllama. Still another inscription of the same king and date represents him as camping at Mañjarā-tīrtha on the bank of<sup>the</sup> Gōdāvari.<sup>15</sup> Mañjarā-tīrtha seems to have been a place on the river Manjara, a tributary of Gōdāvari, to the north of Kalyāṇa. This shows that Sōmēśvara was in that year near about Kalyāṇa<sup>and</sup> had full sway over the area round about.

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8 K.S.P.P., Vol.37, p.103.

9 For instance an inscription from Minajigi (A.R.S.I.E. 1929-30, BK.No.45) mentions Kalachurya Singhana as the subordinate of Chālukya Sōmēśvara.

10 A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.207.

11 K.S.P.P., Vol.37, p.106.

12 A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.207.

13 Op.cit., line 22.

14 A.R.I.E., 1959-60, B.No.448.

15 A.R.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K.No.45.

But the years that followed were brighter for Bhillana. <sup>of</sup> Prevalance records of both Sōmēśvara IV and Bhillana with dates ranging from 1184 A.D. to 1188 A.D. in the same area, viz., the Bijapur District in Mysore State, indicate the state of confusion and perhaps <sup>the</sup> struggle for ownership of the area. But soon, Bhillana's repeated onslaughts and <sup>those</sup> ~~slays~~ of the Hoysalas from the south, made Sōmēśvara retire to the southern parts of the kingdom, viz. Jayantipura in the country of the Kadambas. This meant victory for Bhillana. Though it was not possible for him to extend his authority all over the Chālukya territory, he could strengthen his position in the northern part of it above the Kṛishṇā and exercise his sway over that area as an independent sovereign ruler by 1186-87 A.D., if not earlier.

Hemādri's statement that Bhillana 'acquired the glory of Kalyāṇa' <sup>16</sup> refers to his victory over Sōmēśvara IV and not <sup>to</sup> his capturing the city of Kalyāṇa. Jalhana also alludes to Bhillana's conquest over Sōmēśvara when he says, 'Tribhuvana-Brahmāṇā kila <sup>Apparently</sup> ~~brāhmaṇaḥ~~. Tribhuvana and Brahma refer <sup>ed here are</sup> to Tribhuvanamalla Sōmēśvara and his general Barma only.

Bhillana becomes the king:

Records are not unanimous in counting the initial year of Bhillana's <sup>ption of</sup> assuming regal powers. Of the twenty inscriptions of this king found so far, twelve are dated in his regnal years, while <sup>17</sup> one belonging to his grandson Singhana also gives his regnal year.

16 Verse quoted above.

17 Sources of Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. I, pp. 44 ff.

These records with their dates are shown below in a tabular form in the order of regnal years given in them.

<u>Findspot</u>	<u>Year given</u> 18	<u>First year obtained.</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Mudnūr, Sherapur Taluk, Gulbarga District	Year 2, Plava, Phālguna 30, Monday solar eclipse = 1188 A.D. Feb.29.	1187 A.D.	A.B.I.E., 1960-61, No.B 525
Nimbāl, Indi Taluk Bijapur District	Year 3, Plavanga, Bhādrapada, Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, Samkrāma = 1187 Sept.4.	1185 A.D.	A.B.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K. No.49.
Hallūr, Muddebihal Taluk, Bijapur District	Year 3, Kīlaka, Adhika Srāvana, Amāvāsyā, Monday = 1186 A.D., July 25.	1186 A.D.	Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.No.28.
Pīrāpur, Muddebihal Taluk, Bijapur District	Year 3, Saumya = 1189-90	1187-88 A.D.	Ibid., B.K.No. 55.
Do.	Do.	Do.	Ibid., B.K.No. 56.
Annigeri, Navalgund Taluk, Dharwar District	Year 3, Saumya, Pushya Amāvāsyā, Monday, Uttarāyana-Samkrānti = 1189 Dec. 25.	1187 A.D.	Ibid., 1928-29, B.K.No.192
Muttagi, Bagevadi Taluk, Bijapur District	Year 3, Saumya, Pushya ba.1, Monday, Uttarāyana samkrānti = 1189 A.D., Dec. 25.	1187 A.D.	Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.No.99.
Sālētgi, Indi Taluk, Bijapur District	Year 4, Saumya, Kārtika su.15, Monday, Samkrāma, Bharani nakshatra = 1190 A.D., October 15.19	1187 A.D.	Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.159.

18 This is apparently a mistake for Plavanga.

19 The date is incorrect. In the cyclic year Saumya, the details do not agree. But in the next year, i.e. Sādhārana, the given details regularly correspond to the English date given above. Bhar

Madbhāvi, Bijapur Taluk, Bijapur District	Year 4, Sādhārana Kārtika su.Purnimā, Monday, Samkramana = 1190 A.D., October 15	1187 A.D.	Ibid., 1935-36 B.K.No.114.
Mārdi, Sholapur Taluk, Sholapur District	Year 4, Plavanga, Pushya ba.10, Monday, Uttarayana samkrānti = 1187 A.D., Dec.12. <sup>20</sup>	1184 A.D.	S.M.H.D., Vol. I, p.44 ff.
Ankalgi, <sup>South</sup> <del>North</del> Satara Taluk, Maharashtra	Year 6, Sādhārana, Vaisakha su.10, Monday = 1190 A.D., April 16, f.d.t. .11	1185 A.D.	A.R.S.I.E., 1940-41, B.K. 92.
Karadkal, Ling-sugur Taluk, Raichur District	Year 6, Virōdhikrit, Jyēshtha Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar eclipse Dakshināyana samkranti = 1191 A.D., June 23	1186 A.D.	A.R.S.I.E., 1953-54, No. B 240.
Muttagi, Bagevadi Taluk, Bijapur District.	Year 8, Paridhāvi, Srāvana Purnimā, Thursday = 1192 A.D., July 26. <sup>22</sup>	1185 A.D.	A.R.S.I.E., 1939-40, B.K. No.108.

reveals that

An analysis of the above dates <sup>ranging</sup> gives for Bhillama's accession, different dates, from 1184 December 26 to 1185 December 25. It can, on the basis of this, be surmised that Bhillama considered himself practically independent, immediately after the downfall of the Kalachuryas at the hands of Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV and started counting his regnal years almost simultaneously with the latter. But though the Chālukya power was decreasing day by day,

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nakshatra also occurred on that day, though not the Sankramana.

20 The date is irregular. The tithi fell on Saturday and there was no samkrānti on that day.

21 There were two Jyēshthas in this year. The eclipse occurred in Nija-Jyēshtha.

22 The given tithi fell on Sunday.

Bhillama must have found it difficult to get recognition as the paramount king in the areas <sup>h</sup>where the Chālukya rule was still accepted. This explains the discrepancy in the counting of his regnal years. However, the findspots of these inscriptions indicate that his rule was accepted in the northern parts of the Chālukya territory earlier than in the southern parts of it. Thus in the area comprising the present Shelapur District in Maharashtra where there was little or no Chālukya influence during the period, he was recognised <sup>earlier</sup> ~~sooner~~ as can be seen from the Mārdi inscription according to which his first year is 1184 A.D. Bhillama soon extended his sway over the area comprising the present Bijapur District as can be seen from his records found in that area. But it must have taken <sup>him</sup> a longer time ~~for him~~ to extend his rule across the Malaprabhā in the South, i.e. the present Dharwar District. This was the stronghold of Sōmēśvara IV, and Anṇigēri, a village in this District, enjoyed <sup>then</sup> the status of his capital. So naturally the <sup>populace</sup> ~~subjects~~ were reluctant to accept the authority of an alien ruler like Bhillama, <sup>at least</sup> until Sōmēśvara IV left for Jayantipura, in spite of the fact that the latter was defeated by him earlier. This is how we find the only inscription found for Bhillama in this area counting his regnal year from 1187 A.D. It thus becomes clear that Bhillama declared himself independent in 1184 A.D., but that it took three or four more years to consolidate his power and assert himself as a monarch in the erstwhile Chālukya territory. <sup>And</sup> ~~But~~ by 1186-87 A.D., he was recognised as such in the northern parts of that area.



### Conquests:

Bhillama's throne was not a bed of roses. He attained independence no doubt but had yet to build an empire. That was not an easy task. He was surrounded all over by enemies. Not only on the border, but inside the country also he had to meet the opposition of good many chiefs. The Kadambas and the Sindas of Yalabarga who were the trusted feudatories of the Chālukyas were reluctant to submit themselves to this new ruler. The Kalachuryas, though rendered powerless, now and then tried to regain their power. Bhillama found his toughest enemy in Hoysala Ballāla II. Bhillama's career therefore had to be one of struggles and wars only.

### Clash with the Haihaya Chief:

The Haihayas, <sup>who</sup> claimed to have ~~and to have~~ hailed from Māhishmatīpura were governing a small principality in the Raichur District of Mysore State, as the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas. When the latter family sank into insignificance, they transferred their allegiance to the Kalachuryas. But the moment the Kalachurya power became weak, they took advantage of the resultant chaos and declared their independence. It was only during the time of Bhillama's grandson Singhana that they accepted the Sēūna suzerainty.

Mahāmandalēśvara Malla II of this family was bold enough to challenge the authority of the Kalachurya chiefs and also of Sēūna Bhillama. His record of 1196-97 A.D. <sup>23</sup> states that he was attacked

by Bhillama's general (sāhani) but repulsed him by destroying a huge army of the latter. It is to be noted however that the date of the record is too late for Bhillama. By then his son Jaitugi I had already succeeded him. Evidently, the <sup>record</sup> ~~general~~ here makes a reference to the earlier incident. This shows that Malla's relations with Bhillama were not cordial and <sup>that</sup> the latter did not succeed in subduing him. Otherwise the above record of this chief would not have been dated in the <sup>Chōlukya</sup> era (Chōlukya-Vikrama-Kāla) in as late as 1196-97 A.D. Now Jalhana mentions a Malla <sup>24</sup> as an adversary of Bhillama and <sup>states</sup> that he was afraid of the latter. This Malla can reasonably be identified with Malla of Haihaya family who was also an adversary of Bhillama. Jalhana's reference to Malla indicates that he was overpowered by Bhillama; but that does not seem to be a fact for the reason that the records of the latter <sup>do not</sup> ~~never~~ refer to this conquest and <sup>further</sup> if such a conquest had taken place, Malla would not have been able to issue in 1196-97 A.D. any record independently without making a mention of the overlord. Again that Malla was at war with Bhillama is clear from the same record which credits him with destroying the huge army of Bhillama's general.

Putting down the Kalachuryas:

It is seen above that as early as in 1176 A.D. Bhillama had made a successful attack on Mailugi of the Kalachurya family. Years later, he had to face Bijjala III. Hemādri in this connec-

tion states that Bhillama 'killed Billana, the king of Mangalavē-  
shṭaka'. A variant <sup>24</sup>Vairin is also found in place of Billana and  
apparently both are the corrupt forms of Bijjana, i.e., Bijjala.  
Again his headquarters Mangalavēshṭaka is the same as Mangalavēḍhe-  
he ~~of the~~ which was one of the capitals of the Kalachuryas.

Govinda Pai put forth certain arguments regarding the identi-  
fication of this Billana, Vajrin or Bijjala, but could not come to  
a definite conclusion. <sup>25</sup> He also expressed the possibility of his  
being the same as the Sinda chief of the same name, if not Vajra-  
dēva, the son of Bijjala II. But neither of these suggestions is  
acceptable on chronological grounds. Sinda Bijjala was not associ-  
ated with Mangalavēḍhe, his headquarters being Erambarage, i.e.,  
modern Yalburgā in Raichur District. Pai's surmises in this connec-  
tion have no strong grounds at all (and Pai himself has admitted  
it). Now, so far as Vajradēva is concerned, we know that he never  
came to the throne and there is no evidence to show that he ever  
took part in any military activity. No record of his is also known.

A possibility of identifying this Billana or Bijjala with  
Bijjana, referred to by Jalhana as an adversary of Mallugi II, was  
also thought of and it was concluded that "Bijjana whom Bhillama  
defeated was some other later prince of that same Kalachurya dynasty  
of whom no details are forthcoming." <sup>26</sup> But the argument that Bhillam  
was a Kalachurya subordinate in 1173 A.D. and therefore he could not

25 Mūru Upanyāsaśālū, pp.77 ff.

26 Proc. I.H.C., 1945, p.102.

have fought or killed Bijjala II, is not justified, as it has been shown above that neither Bhillama nor ~~even~~ his predecessor ever submitted to the rule of the Kalachuryas. Nevertheless the surmise that he might be a later prince of the same family is correct and later discoveries supply us with some details about him. This prince is Vira Bijjala or Bijjala III. In his inscription found at Sankh <sup>27 South Satara taluk</sup> in ~~South Satara~~ Maharashtra he is described as the son of rayamurari Sovidēva and therein he is stated to have made certain grants to a god at Sankada (i.e. modern Sankh), in the cyclic year Paridhāvi, Phālguna Purnami, Monday, lunar eclipse. Though the Saka year is not given it must be the one that followed the last date of Sovidēva, i.e., 1176 A.D., since Bijjala is called the latter's son. Now the cyclic year Paridhāvi in this period, coincided with Saka 1114. But the other details given are not correct. Phālguna, purnimā in that year fell on Wednesday and there was no eclipse on that day. The nearest lunar eclipse, to that date, was the one which occurred on the Pūrṇimā tithi of the month of Marga-sīrsha. Hence the given tithi may be equated to 17th February 1193 A.D., which seems to be the <sup>intended</sup> date of the grant.

Here a discrepancy in the statement of Hēmadri has to be explained. ~~solved.~~ According to him Bhillama killed Bijjala (Billanam jaghni-vān). In that case this incident must have taken place only after 1193 A.D., which is the only date we have for this Bijjala. But by the latter date, Bhillama was dead and was succeeded by his son Jaitugi. Therefore, it is clear that Hēmadri's statement that

Bhillama killed Bijjala is not true. It is apparent that by laghniṣāṇ Hēṁādrī only meant that Bijjala was subdued by Bhillama. It may be incidentally noted here that in the very verse Hēṁādrī also says that Bhillama "rendered the Hoysala king lifeless" (Vidadhē yō Hōsalēṣam vyāṣum). The Hoysala king with whom Bhillam<sup>28</sup> came into conflict was none else but Vīra Ballāla II and certainly<sup>29</sup> the latter survived him for many years.

Further, that this Bijjala met his death at the hands of another chief is revealed to us from the Malhat inscription referred to above. This inscription, we know, is dated in 1196-97 A.D. and was issued by the Haihaya chief Mallarasa, who was then in his headquarters at Ayyana Sirivura. This place <sup>is</sup> ~~can be~~ the modern Sirwar, a small town in Manvi taluk in Raichur District. In the course of describing the conquests of Mallarasa, the record says that there was a clash between him and a Vīra Bijja, in which a son of the latter seems to have lost his life. Again one of his titles enumerated in the record tells us that he killed Vīra Bijja, and the latter is stated to have belonged to Muduganūr (Muduganūr-ōḍeya Vīra-Bijjana tale-gonda gāṇḍam). The fact that he belonged to Muduganūr shows that this Vīra-Bijja can only be the Kalachurya prince Vīra Bijjala, introduced to us by the Sankh inscription.

28 The suggestion that the Hoysala king killed by Bhillama was Narasimha I (1141-1173 A.D. Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong., 1945, p.103) is not correct. The Northern adversaries of Narasimha were the Kalachuryas and there was no likelihood of his attacking Bhillama, who had not yet risen to prominence.

29 His last date is 1220 A.D.

Muduganūr which also figures as Modeganūr, Modēnūr and Modeyanūr, was a secondary capital of the Kalachuryas. This village is identified with Mādinūr in Koppal taluk of Raichur District. <sup>30</sup>

This Bijjala figures in another inscription of an earlier date, viz., 1192 A.D., October 19. This record is found at Balaganūr <sup>31</sup> also in <sup>Sindhanur</sup> ~~Mandav~~ taluk and <sup>it</sup> states that Mallidēvarasa's son Allahulidēva made a grant of land included in his Kumāra-vṛitti, to the god Lakshminārāyaṇadēva at the agrahāra Hiriya-balaganūr. This epigraph represents Allahulidēva as bearing the title Vīra-Bijjana-īarāsandha-ranaranga-bhīma, indicating that he killed Vīra-Bijjana who can be none else but Kalachurya Bijjala III. But since we have found a record for the latter in February 1193 A.D., the title cannot be taken to mean that he died in 1192 A.D. Evidently <sup>Allahulidēva</sup> ~~he~~ must have assisted his father Mallidēvarasa in one of his earlier clashes with Bijjala and hence the title. <sup>The</sup> Balaganūr record also indicates that Allahuli was then only a prince (Kumāra). It was only some time after 1193 A.D., February, that Bijjala died at the hands of Mallidēvarasa.

With the death of Vīra Bijjala III, one source of trouble to Bhīllama, feeble though it was, was removed for ever. In later times, chiefs belonging to the Kalachurya family <sup>32</sup> accepted the Sēūṇa overlordship.

30 K.S.P.P., Vol.37, p.116.

31 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.B 258, lines 25 ff.

32 For instance, a rāyanūrārī Jannugidēva 'born in the Kalachurya family' was a subordinate of Singhana II. See p.194 below.

The strongest enemy, however, that Bhillama had to face was Hoysala Ballāla II. This ambitious prince who was also striving to acquire the Chālukya territory, put an effective check on the southward extension of Bhillama's power. The earliest known inscription of Bhillama is dated 1187 A.D., September 4,<sup>33</sup> and he had by then occupied most ~~part~~ of the Bijapur District, the area north of that had already been under his control. By 1188 A.D., February<sup>34</sup> his rule extended to Gulbarga District and shortly afterwards to parts of Raichur District.<sup>35</sup> Further east in this District, he was met with opposition by Haihaya Mallidēva who did not allow him to exercise his authority roughly beyond the boundary of the present Lingsugur taluk.

#### Southward March:

Southwards, his strides were bigger still. He soon<sup>36</sup> crossed the Malaprabhā and in 1189 A.D. December we find that his kingship was recognised in Annigēri and the area round about, in the present Dharwar District. It is doubtful if Gadag near Annigēri was also included in his territory even then. Soon he extended his sway up<sup>a</sup> to Sōṇṭūr about 12 miles further downwards from Gadag thus occupying the Belvola country, which became the bone of contention between himself and the Hoysala Ballāla.

33 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.49; Ep.Ind., Vol.XXVIII, pp.94ff

34 An inscription of this date is found in Mudnūr in Sherapur taluk of this district, A.R.I.E., 1960-61, No.B.

35 An inscription of 1191 A.D. is found in Karadkal of Lingsugur taluk of this district. A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.B 240.

36 An inscription of this date is found at Annigēri; A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.192.

This was the <sup>mo</sup>farthest point in the south that Bhillama could reach, though one or two inscriptions of his boast of him <sup>s</sup>as being the lord of the whole of Kuntala. <sup>37</sup> It <sup>was</sup> here that he met Ballāla in the battle field and the latter successfully pushed him back beyond Gadag.

Ascending the throne in 1173 A.D., Ballāla immediately set out on expeditions. He quelled the disturbances created by the Kongālvās and Chengālvās and in about 1177 A.D. he led a campaign against the Pāṇḍya of Uchchaṅgi and achieved a thumping victory which the bards in his court were never tired of eulogising in <sup>the most</sup> ~~and~~ hyperbolic terms. Shortly after that, he turned his attention towards the dominions of the Kalachuryas and inflicted a defeat upon them. The Kadam̐bas were subdued and the fort of Hāṅgal soon came into his possession. The feud between the Kalachuryas and Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV<sup>o</sup> gave him an opportunity to push his army northwards still. Sōmēśvara's reign was very short and his withdrawal ~~gave~~ left <sup>with</sup> Ballāla a clear coast, though he had to face for a while the opposition of his general Barma. <sup>38</sup> Subduing the <sup>is</sup> ~~latter~~ general, Ballāla took in his possession a considerable portion of the Chālukya territory and by 1189 A.D. we see him calling himself the conqueror of the area up to Herdore inclusive of Hūligere and Belvola. <sup>39</sup> Hūligere is modern Lakshmēśvar in Dharwar District. Though his claim to have

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37 See for instance Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 30 ff.

38 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 502.

39 See for instance, Ep. Carn., Vol. V, Ak. 57.



had Herdore or the river Kṛishṇā for the northern boundary seems to be exaggerated, it is clear from his records that he did extend his sway upto <sup>the</sup> Malaprabhā, the border between the present Dharwar and Bijapur Districts.

#### War with the Hoysala:

As seen above, Bhillama in the meantime was fast moving to the southern districts and almost all Belvola <sup>across</sup> the Malaprabhā upto Soratūr came under his sway. Soratūr appears to have been situated in Puligere 300 on the border of Belvola 300. This village is very near Shirahaṭṭi in Dharwar District. That Soratūr was not a part of Belvola is indicated by the fact that in the fierce battle that took place between Ballāḷa and Bhillama, <sup>as</sup> ~~which~~ we presently see, the former is stated to have pushed back the latter from Soratūr to Belvola.<sup>40</sup>

Now the question arises as to how both the Sēūṇa and the Hoysala could exercise their authority over the division, viz., Belvola. Obviously Ballāḷa after his conquest of Banavāsi, must have led his army through Belvola and having established his claim on that territory, returned to his capital Dōrasamudra sometime before 1189 A.D. It was at this very time that Bhillama too was actively trying to expand his kingdom and in the absence of Ballāḷa, moved down to Belvola, <sup>an</sup> ~~which~~ act Ballāḷa could not tolerate. He proceeded with a large army and the two met near Soratūr where a fierce battle took place in which Bhillama sustained a severe defeat. The fact

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that Bhillama was pushed back upto Lokkigundi, i.e. modern Lakkundi in Cadag taluk and the other that he was pushed back upto the river Krishnā. The latter statement seems to be a bit too exaggerated since Bhillama held sway over the territory below the Krishnā even after this battle, i.e. in 1192 A.D. But that he lost Lakkundi is clear from the fact that the <sup>43</sup> ~~latter~~ place was occupied by Ballāla as is clear from a record of 1192 A.D.

There is a difference of opinion about the date of this battle. Fleet held that it must have taken place in the latter half of 1191 A.D. <sup>44</sup> Venkatasubbiah on the other hand surmised, on the basis of Anekere inscription <sup>45</sup> of Vīra Ballāla II, that the fight must have concluded sometime before 1190 A.D., December 24, which is the date of that inscription. It states:

Innum bīrada tōrabitta nagevoydant-irppud-ārūdha-sam-  
pannam Dakshinachakri gelda Sōratūrīm Belvolam mutte sam-  
chhannōdghrishta-Krishṇāvalā-vali-hala-prāg-bhāga-nihkilitō  
tpannam Sēvuna-sainya-sadbhata-karōṭi-kōṭi-samghattanam ||

Though the date, as actually quoted in the record is irregular, Venkatasubbiah <sup>has</sup> rightly shown <sup>n</sup> that the given tithi would correspond to the above date. <sup>46</sup> The result of the fight was that Bhillama was driven <sup>out</sup> of Belvola. As such the <sup>upper</sup> ~~lower~~ limit of this battle must be 1189 A.D., December 25, which is the date of Bhillama's

43 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 89 ff.

44 Bcm. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 520.

45 Ep. Carn., Vol. V, Cn. No. 179.

46 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

Annigeri inscription, <sup>which is</sup> ~~this being~~ the earliest record showing his sway in the Belvola area.

*(ie 1189 Dec and 1190 Dec,)*

That the battle was fought within these two dates<sup>47</sup> is corroborated by the fact that hardly few records of Ballāḷa<sup>48</sup> belong to this period and none of them associate him with his capital Dōrasamudra, indicating his absence therefrom. Further, an inscription from Arasikere dated in Sādhārana Vaisākha su.5, corresponding to 1190 A.D., April 14, Monday, states that Ballāḷa's queen Umādēvi was ruling then from Dōrasamudra. This marked omission of Ballāḷa's name and the fact that his queen was looking after the administration of the country shows that Ballāḷa was then away from the capital, possibly on an expedition ~~which must have been~~ against Bhillama. *It is likely that the battle took place some time before 1190 A.D., October*

Though he experienced a terrific set back, Bhillama did not lose heart. As soon as Ballāḷa returned to his capital, some time before 1190 A.D., December — for the Ānekere record referred to above and <sup>Some</sup> ~~the~~ other inscriptions state that he was ruling from Dōrasamudra then — he proceeded towards Belvola again<sup>48</sup> as can be seen from his Gadag inscription of 1191 A.D., July 42. It is interesting to note in this connection that though Bhillama made a grant to the god at Gadag, his camp was then at Hērūr, probably the same as Bēlūr in Bijapur District, about 30 miles away<sup>49</sup> from Gadag, as has been suggested by Fleet. Though Gadag was

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47 Ibid., Ak.No.85.

48 Ep.Ind., Vol.III, p.217 ff.

49 Bom.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.ii, p.519.

situated in the Belvola country, Hērūr was not. But Ballāḷa also  
was on guard. In 1192<sup>A.D.,</sup> November we find him at the military camp  
of Lakkunḍi,<sup>50</sup>

#### War with the Mālavas:

Bhillama's inscription at Muttagi, which is dated in his  
3rd regnal year, Saumya, Pushya, ba.1, Monday, corresponding to  
1189 A.D., December 25, gives a long list of his conquests, with-  
out mentioning however the Hoysala king, amongst the countries or  
kings who are said to have been vanquished by him. Though much  
of it is conventional yet it refers to countries with which  
Bhillama actually came into contact. Among such were Mālava and  
Gūrjara. The inscription refers to the conquest of Mālava<sup>51</sup> only  
vaguely, thus: "mālava-mastaka-prabala-sūlan", i.e., 'a mighty  
trident in the head of the Mālava (king)'. But the Kalēgaon<sup>52</sup>  
plates of Māhadēva speak of this event with more precision. This  
record states, in a verse with double meaning, that Bhillama routed  
the Vindhyā-bhūphrit. The editor of the record took it to mean  
'the lord of the Vindhyas'. But as pointed out by D.C. Sircar,  
the expression refers to the Paramāra king Vindhyavarman of  
Mālava. Shortly before his rise, the Paramāra kingdom was over-  
run by the Chaulukyas of Gujarat who virtually annexed it to their  
kingdom. But Vindhyavarman successfully tried to get back the  
sovereignty after the death of Chaulukya Kumārapāla. Seeing that

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50 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 96, line 33.

51 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, pp. 37 ff.

52 Ibid., p. 32 f.n. 5.

his northern neighbour Vindhyavarman<sup>n</sup> was thus busy fighting with the Chaulukyas, Bhīllama might have thought it to be an opportune moment to lead his army against him, perhaps with an intention to extend his territory<sup>t</sup> across the Narmadā which was then the boundary of Sēūṇadēśa. But he did not seem to have met with the expected results.

#### War with the Gūrjaras:

His attack on the Gūrjara king was another act of little consequence. The Gūrjara adversary now was Chaulukya Bhīma II. Bhīma's records or the Gūrjara chronicles do not make any reference to any attack by or on Sēūṇas. But a record of Chāhamāna Chāchigadēva states that Kēlhapa defeated a 'southern king Bhīllama' whom Kielhorn has rightly identified with Sēūṇa Bhīllama<sup>53</sup>. On this ground however, it will be incorrect to think that Bhīllama reached Marwar, the area in which Kēlhapa was ruling. In all probability this fight between Bhīllama and Kēlhapa refers to the attack on Gūrjara country. Kēlhapa must have taken part in the battle on behalf of the Gūrjara king Bhīma, whose feudatory he was.

#### War with the Kākatīyas:

One more event in the military career of Bhīllama was his attack<sup>f</sup> on the Kākatīyas. The Kalēgaon plates state that Bhīllama 'killed in the battle the king of Trikalīṅga' who is also referred

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to as Kākatya, i.e. Kākatīya. The contemporary Kākatīya king was Rudra. As seen earlier, <sup>this king</sup> ~~that that~~ he fought with Mallugi who was the Sēūna Mallugi, the predecessor of Bhillama. But information regarding Bhillama's clash with the same Kākatīya king comes for the first time from the Kalēgaon plates. Sadly neither the date nor any other details are available. But the statement, <sup>made</sup> in these plates that Bhillama killed Rudra is an exaggeration because, as Hēmādri says, it was Jaitugi who killed him. <sup>54</sup> Moreover, the Pillalamarri record shows that Rudra lived <sup>55</sup> till 1195 A.D.

It is not possible to ascertain the <sup>exact</sup> dates for these expeditions. They must have <sup>taken place</sup> ~~been~~ ever before Bhillama occupied himself with the Hoysala.

Last date of Bhillama:

Fleet, on the basis of the Annigēri inscription of Ballālā, <sup>56</sup> expressed the possibility of Bhillama's death in the Sōratur battle. But it is certain that he lived for more than a year after that. The verses quoted above and many other references to the battle speak <sup>only</sup> of the defeat suffered by Bhillama <sup>but</sup> ~~and~~ not his death. A passage in Vyavahāra-ganita, a Kannada work on Mathematics by Rājāditya, clearly states that Bhillama ran away in confusion, when he was defeated in the battle. It reads as follows:

54 Op.cit., p.195, verse 41.

55 Telingana Inscriptions, Vol.I, p.17 ff. No.7.

56 Bcm.Gaz., Vol.I, Part ii, pp.519-20.

Mudadiñ Sēvunār-etti mārcāleṃ . . . . .

nadiṃol bidduda pañcha-bhāga hayaṃ bhāgañ dīśāpattav-ā- |  
dudu shad-bhāga samarchi muggidudu chātur-bhāga lāyakke nik-  
kudu . . . . . vāṃsahitañ kettōdidañ Bhillamañ ||

Madan-ārāti-nripālakañ bhayadi baṃgoṭṭ-ēdūtīrpalli tā  
nadiṃol biddudu pañchabhāga haya shadbhāgañ dīśāpattav-ā- |  
dudu mūr bhāga kadarchi vōdīduvu chāturbhāga lāyakke san-  
dudu mikk-arunrōvu vāṃsahitañ kettōdidañ Bhillamañ ||<sup>57</sup>

Another reason for Fleet's surmise was his conclusion that the Soratūr battle took place sometime in the latter half of 1191 A.D., and soon after, his son Jaitugi succeeded him. But it has been shown above that the battle took place in 1190 A.D. some time before October. We have at least five records of Bhillama dated later than 1190 A.D. One is the Gadag inscription of 1191<sup>A.D.</sup> June, referred to above. The other is from Karadkal in Lingsugur Taluk of the Raichur District, bearing the identical date.<sup>58</sup> The third one comes from Bhairavādigi<sup>59</sup> in Bijapur District and is dated in 1191 A.D., December.<sup>60</sup> The fourth and fifth are from Muttagi and Hippargi<sup>61</sup> in the same District. The former is dated in 1192 A.D. July while the latter in the month of August of the same year. All these records refer to the reign of Bhillama, clearly indicating that he was on the throne till at least the month of August

57 Quoted in I.H.Q., Vol.IV, p.126.

58 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.B 240.

59 A.R.S.I.E., 1930-31, B.K.No.1.

60 Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.No.108.

61 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K.No.30.



1192 A.D. But he might not have lived long after that. A record of his son Jaitugi I, dated in 1192 A.D. December, <sup>62</sup> speaks of him as the ruler. It follows therefore that Bhillama died sometime between August and December of 1192 A.D.

Bhillama's was a life of ambitions, and consequently one of continued warfare. Right from the first fight for <sup>the</sup> throne with his nephew, till his last day, battlefield was his second home, as the account of his career detailed above shows.

Not only his inscriptions but also those of his deadly enemy, the Hoysala, speak highly of the ~~maxim~~ heroism of Bhillama. He started his career as early as in 1170 A.D. and it took him nearly sixteen years since then to declare himself independent by which time he had fairly advanced in age. Constant fights at home as well as on the borders as also the growing age naturally told upon his health and this might be accounted for his defeat at the hands of the Hoysala. But his achievements were not small. It is to his credit that the Sēūna family rose from oblivion to the status of a ruling dynasty and rightly therefore was he credited with the honour of 'extending the Sēūna kingdom'. It was ~~good~~ <sup>ate for</sup> fortune ~~of~~ the dynasty that his successors, particularly his grandson, were worthy of him in carrying forward his policy of enlarging the dominion and call themselves the rightful rulers of the Kuntala country.

#### Territory:

During the regime of Bhillama, the Sēūna territory expand-

ed much. The Narmadā remained as the northern border and down that river, ~~was included nearly~~ the whole of Maharashtra barring the Konkana was included in his territory. The Malaprabhā became the southern border, <sup>the</sup> area down which belonged to the Hoysala. Thus the northern districts of the present Mysore State, viz. Bijapur, Belgaum and parts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur Districts came under his sway.

#### Feudatories and Subordinate Officials:

In consonance with the administrative system of the day, Bhillama entrusted the administration of different parts to different feudatories and officials. Not <sup>many</sup> ~~much~~ details are forthcoming <sup>regarding</sup> ~~in this respect regarding~~ the administration of the northern districts of the kingdom. But the inscriptions found in the southern parts of his territory disclose the names of a number of feudatories and officers who were in charge of different territorial divisions.

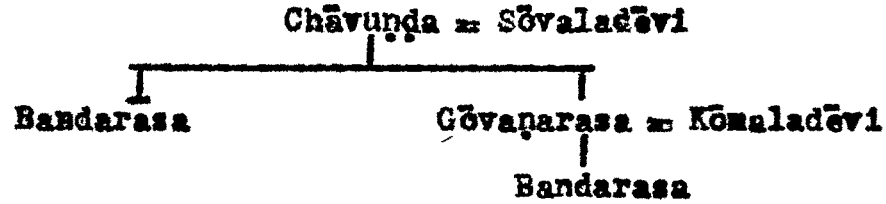
One amongst them was mahāmandalēśvara Bandarasa or Bandugi who was the governor of Tardavādi-One thousand. He belonged to a Śilāhāra family and bore the epithets Jimūtavāhan-āyayaīāta and Kopapapuravar-ādhlāvara.<sup>63</sup> An inscription of Bhillama, the date of which is lost, states that Bandarasa belonged to the family of Śilāhāra Dhanasangraha of Vijayapura. Further, <sup>in</sup> the Chūrgi inscription of 1190 A.D.<sup>64</sup> Bandugi is called Tardavādipuravar-ādhlāvara.

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63 Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.66.

64 Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.23.

<sup>65</sup>  
The undated Sālōṭgi record gives his genealogy as follows:



It is clear that he belonged to a minor Śilāhāra family whose members ~~had~~ exercised authority over the division of Tardavāḍi One-thousand. Dhanasangraha, an earlier member of the same family, may be identified with the Śilāhāra prince of that name figuring in the Akkalakōṭ inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.<sup>66</sup>

Jaitrasīṃha, a general of Bhīllama, was a very prominent figure in the Sūṇa ~~xxx~~ administration. He first figures in the Anṇigēri inscription of 1189 A.D.<sup>67</sup> and again in a record of 1191 A.D.<sup>68</sup> wherein he is stated to have requested the king to make the grant of <sup>the</sup> a village Hiriya-Handigola in Belvola Three-hundred. It is possible that he was the governor of Belvola and he must have taken prominent part in the battle of Seratūr. Hoysala Ballāla, the victor in that battle, is said to have 'killed' this general who is described as the 'right hand of Bhīllama'.<sup>69</sup> Though it is indeed certain that he was defeated, the statement that he was

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., B.K.No.66.

<sup>66</sup> Kr.Ins., Vol.II, pp.40 ff.

<sup>67</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.192.

<sup>68</sup> Ep.Ind., Vol.III, pp.219 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., Vol.VI, p.96, verse 35.

killed is not true, for, we see him alive even in the period of Jaitugi I, the son and successor of Bhillama.<sup>70</sup> This fact again nullifies the identity of this general with Jaitugi I.<sup>71</sup> and establishes that he was the general under Bhillama and was different from the son of the latter.

The Sindas of Yalbarga who were powerful allies of the Chālukyas, also accepted the sovereignty of the Sāūnas. It is doubtful if they ever enjoyed any independence even after the downfall of the Chālukyas. Panchamukhi on the basis of the Benchamattī inscription of Vikramānka, a chief of this family, surmised that Sindas declared themselves independent.<sup>72</sup> But the evidence on hand does not seem to uphold his views. The Benchamattī inscription is dated in March 1187 A.D. while an inscription dated October 1187 A.D. represents him as a subordinate of Sōmēśvara IV<sup>73</sup> wherein the latter figures as Viranārāyaṇa.

With the dwindling of the Chālukya power, the Sindas transferred their allegiance to Bhillama as is known from a record of the latter dated in July 1188 A.D.<sup>74</sup> wherein a Vikramāditya figures as the king's subordinate. This Vikramāditya can be none else but the Sinda chief of that name who ruled between 1169 and 1220 A.D. The only other known Vikramāditya in this period was a chief of the Gutta family of Guttavolal who ruled between 1183 and

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70 Sour.Med.Hist.Dog., Vol.I, p.52, line 38.

71 Bhandarkar, op.cit., p.149; I.H.Q., Vol.IV, p.127.

72 Ep.Ind., Vol.XX, p.113.

73 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.52.

74 Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.No.18.

75  
1233 A.D. But he is not known to have accepted the Sōṇa over-  
lordship nor is there any possibility of his inscription being  
found in so <sup>distant</sup> a place as Hallur in the Bijapur District, his  
jurisdiction being a small principality round about Guttal in  
Haveri Taluk in the ~~eastern part~~ of the Dharwar District.

Mahāmandalēśvara Virapadēvarasa was another important feu-  
datory of Bhillama. Though the latter's records do not help us  
much in knowing more about this chief, the records of Sōmēśvara  
IV furnish some details regarding him. He belonged to the Baisa-  
kula and was in charge of the administration of the division of  
Hagarit<sup>ta</sup>ge Three-hundred. 76 This division comprised of the area  
round about the present village of that name in Shorapur taluk  
of Gulbarga District. Obviously with the change over of the ruler  
ship, Virupadēvarasa also changed his loyalty to the new ruler  
Bhillama.

77  
A recently discovered inscription at Karadkal introduces  
a new family of feudatory chiefs who belonged to the Kadamba stock  
Bhillama's subordinate of this family was Bajja III, <sup>who</sup> was governing  
the division of Karadikal Three hundred from his headquarters at  
Mudugallu (modern Mudgal about 14 miles from Karadkal) in 1191  
78  
A.D.

Among the officers, Māyidēva held the key post of the

75 See Appendix II below.

76 A.B.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K.No.45.

77 A.B.I.E., 1953-54, No.B 240.

78 See Appendix II. Also see I.H.Q., Vol. XXXIV, pp 167 ff.

Prime minister (mahāpradhāna). He seems to have been in that position since the independent rule of Bhillana, for the earliest inscription of this king, from Nimbāl, dated in 1187 A.D. mentions him. The Hirēbevinūr inscription of 1190 A.D. highly eulogies him and states that he was in charge of the small division of Mūvattāru-bāḍa. Herein he is stated to have planted a number of trees and established a charity fair (dharmā-santhe) at the desire of Siriyādēvi, the wife of his subordinate officer Boppaṇa-<sup>when she</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>ha</sup> ~~intended~~ <sup>to</sup> observe the vrata of kshītīru-nāni. The latest date we have for him is 1192 A.D. given by the Hippargi inscription.

<sup>may</sup> Maṣarāṇārī <sup>figures</sup> Lakṣmīdēva-danḍanāyaka ~~occurs~~ in two inscriptions from Pīrāpur, dated 1189-90 A.D. He may be identified with Lakṣhaṇa-danḍanāyaka of the undated Mādhāl record wherein he is described as the Tarikāḍu-nāḍ-adhikārī or the officer in charge of the Tarikāḍu division. This division included in it the smaller division of Ankulage, i.e. Ankalgi in the Jath State which is now merged in South Satara District of Maharashtra and Mangalivāḍa, i.e. present Mangalvāḍha in the Sholapur District in the same State.

Phōyiyasāhaṇī was holding the office of paṭṭasāhaṇī which meant a chief military officer. The Muttagi and Hippargi ins-

79 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.49.

80 Ibid., B.K.No.36.

81 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K.No.30.

82 Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.Nos.55 and 56.

83 Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, p.332, lines 73 ff.

84 Ibid., Vol.XV, p.30 ff.

criptions give him the dates 1189 and 1192 A.D. respectively.

The Annigēri inscription of 1189 A.D. introduces the chiefs Dēvarasa and Bācha, the latter of whom was also called Bhāskara. He is stated to have made a grant to god Amṛitēśvara at Annigere. He is given the title dandina-gōva and is described as a mahāmandalēśvara but it is doubtful if he was governing any division.

One other officer of <sup>~</sup>lesser status is also worth noting. He was Vaijarasa, the administrator of the small division called Tambad-arumbāḍa, i.e. the division of six villages with Tamba as its headquarters. This village in the Bijapur District retains the same name even today. He is mentioned in an inscription which is dated in 1190 A.D.

#### Inscriptions:

When Fleet wrote the history of the Sēūna dynasty, he had at his disposal only three inscriptions belonging to Bhīllama. But since then sixteen more have been discovered, bringing the number of his inscriptions to a total of 19. Of them, thirteen are dated in his regnal years while four in Śaka years. Of the remaining two, one is undated and the date of the other is lost.

#### II Jaitugi I

##### Date of Accession

Bhīllama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi I, in the latter

85 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.30.

86 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.159.

half of the year 1192 A.D. On the presumption that Bhillama died in the battle of Soratūr Fleet thought that his succession took place in the latter half of 1191 A.D. But as shown above Bhillama survived that battle and lived at least up to August 1192 A.D.

Since Jaitugi's earliest record is dated in December 1192 A.D. it follows that he ascended the throne some time between these two dates.<sup>87</sup> But his own records which are dated in his regnal year ascribe the commencement of his rule to a date earlier by a year. Of the three records which are so dated, two indicate that the first year of his reign was 1191 A.D. December, while the third represents him as being on <sup>the</sup> throne only from 1196 A.D. June.

<u>Situation</u>	<u>Date given</u>	<u>First year</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Bijapur	Year 6, Nala, Pushya, su.4, Wednesday, Uttarāyana-sankramana = 1196 A.D., December 25	1191 A.D. December	A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K. No.131.
Kudigi	Year 11, Durmati, Pushya su.11, Monday, Uttarāyana-sankranti = 1201 A.D.	1191 A.D. December	Ibid., 1937-38 B.K.No.41.
Nad(khurd)	[Year 2], Pingala, Ashāḍha, su.3, Saturday = 1197 A.D., June 3 <sup>88</sup>	1196 A.D. June	Ibid., B.K.No. 47.

The year read in the last record is not however beyond doubt. The

87 Ballāḷa's Gadag inscription dated 21st November 1192 A.D. does not refer to Jaitugi. It says that Ballāḷa ousted Jaitrasimha the general of Bhillama apparently from the Belvola country. It is to be noted in this connection that Jaitrasimha is here referred to as the general of Bhillama <sup>and</sup> not that of Jaitugi as he is later on referred to <sup>in some later records</sup> (cf. A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.131, dated 1196 A.D.). This raises a doubt if by this date, i.e., 21st Novem-



regnal year therein may perhaps be read as 7 in which case this record also shows that he commenced his rule some time in 1191 A.D. only, but sometime before the month of June. But as noted earlier, as many as five records of Bhillama dated from June 1191 to August 1192 A.D., represent him as being alive and still ruling. Though <sup>however</sup> there is not the slightest reference to the possibility of the joint rule of the father and son. It is quite likely that Jaitugi I took part in the governance of the country during the later days of his father, <sup>I</sup> ~~It~~ is possible to surmise that after the battle of Sorajūr (which took place sometime before 1190 A.D. October) when Bhillama suffered a signal defeat, he withdrew from active participation in administration and Jaitugi shouldered the responsibility, though it was only after the death of Bhillama that he ascended the throne. This perhaps accounts for the counting of his regnal year from 1191 A.D.

Jaitugi's reign was neither <sup>as</sup> impressive nor <sup>as</sup> long as that of his father. By the time he ascended the throne he was much advanced in age. Though he did not acquire any additional territory he creditably maintained <sup>what</sup> he inherited from his father.

#### Military Activities:

Jaitugi's military exploits were also not many. Though he ber 1192 A.D. Jaitugi had come to throne. It is not however impossible. The Gadag record might refer to an earlier clash with Talprasimha when he was under the service of Bhillama.

88 The weekday was Sunday.

89 The weekday was Friday.

bears titles such as <sup>T</sup>iita-<sup>G</sup>turushka, <sup>G</sup>ūrjara-Pāṇḍya, <sup>jita-Lālam</sup>iita-Gaulaṁ,  
(i.e. the conqueror of the Turushkas, Gūrjaras, Pāṇḍyas, Lāta  
the Gaulas) and ~~and the like~~ and the like, they are mere conventional  
than based on facts. But that does not however mean that his  
rule was all uneventful. The fight for territory between him and  
the Hoysala king did continue, though with little advantage, for him.

#### Clash with the Hoysala:

We have seen above that Bhīllama did not succeed after  
the battle of Soratūr in capturing the fort of Lokkigundi. But  
Jaitugi must have succeeded in taking possession of that fort soon  
after, which incident necessitated Ballāla to conduct another  
expedition towards the North. Some time in the year 1194 A.D.  
he reconquered the Lokkigundi fort by defeating Jaitugi, as has  
been clearly stated in an inscription from Koligunda, dated (in)  
1195 A.D. January 18.<sup>90</sup> It is not unlikely that the conquest took  
place much earlier, i.e. before May 1194, for an inscription<sup>91</sup>  
of that date refers to the defeat of Jaitugi at the hands of  
Ballāla. But the earlier inscription clearly refers to the con-  
quest of this.<sup>92</sup> An inscription of October 1198 A.D. claims Ballāla  
victory over Jaitugi. Though Ballāla thus was able to recapture  
Lokkigundi he still apprehended the danger from Jaitugi's side  
and this is evident ~~from~~<sup>from</sup> the fact that he frequently pitched his  
camps at Lokkigundi and other places in the northern part of the

90 Ep.Cann., Vol.V. Arasikere No.5.

91 Ibid., No.193.

92 Ep.Cann., Vol.V, Bl 77.

territory he conquered. Thus we see him at Lokkigundi in the year 1199 A.D.<sup>93</sup> In 1200 A.D. he was at Hulgere<sup>94</sup> which is modern Lakshmesvar in Dharwar District. In 1205 A.D. he is again found camping at Lakkundi.<sup>95</sup> Jaitugi ~~also~~ does not seem to have ~~to~~ <sup>ed</sup> renew his effort to encroach upon Belvela after this defeat. It was left to his son Singhana II to bring under his sway this country as well as the area south of it.

#### War with the Kākatīyas:

Jaitugi's unsuccessful <sup>en</sup> counter with Ballāla made him turn his eyes towards other directions. It was at this very time that the Kākatīya on the eastern side was trying to rise and Jaitugi came into conflict with him. But unlike in Belvela his exploits here met with success and his achievements were remarkable. As a result, the Kākatīya never again hoped to get any part of the Chālukya territory.

Jaitugi's conflict with Kākatīya Rudra proved fatal to the latter, as Hēmadri, the only source of information regarding this, tells us. He says in the usual hyperbolic terms:

Dikshitvā ranarāṅga-dāvayajānē prōdasta-sastra-aruvah  
śrēṇibhir-īgatīpatīn-hutavatā yāna pratāp-ānāḥ !  
Tillīṅg-ādhipatēḥ yāsōvīśasanan Raudrasya rudrākritēḥ  
Kṛitvā pūruṣa-yajna-mēdha-vichinē labhas-trilōkiyān 96

93 Ep.Carr., Vol.IV, No. Mangala No.47.

94 Ibid., Vol.V, Ak.No.103.

95 Ibid., Vol.VI, Kd. No.36.

96 Op.cit., p.195, verse 41.

As suggested by Bhandarkar Raudra in line three is a mistake for Rudra, or else it <sup>would</sup> ~~seems~~ to refer to the son of Rudra. But we know that Rudra had no issues at all. This Tilling-ādhi-pati-Rudra is apparently Kākatīya Rudra. It is obvious from this reference that Jaitugi killed him in the battle.

It is not known as to when precisely this battle took place. But it must be earlier than 1195 A.D. which is the latest date for Rudra.

Rudra's death in the battle-field enraged his successor and younger brother Mahādēva and to avenge his brother's death, he attacked the fort of Dēvagiri. The Sōmadēvarāilyamu tells us that Mahādēva laid seige <sup>to</sup> of the fort of Dēvagiri for over three months. <sup>98</sup> An inscription from Bidar <sup>99</sup> corroborates this statement when it says that he fought heroically at Dēvagiri. The fragmentary nature of the record prevents us from knowing the result of the battle. But it is certain that Mahādēva too died in this battle. The Kalēgaon plate of Mahādēva and the Paithan plates of his son Rāmachandra <sup>100</sup> say with reference to Jaitugi:

Kārākārāt samāniya karuṇā-varuṇālayah |

prīyamvadāśyam-akarōt kṣhitēr-Gaṇapatiṁ patiṁ || <sup>101</sup>

i.e. Jaitugi, out of compassion released Gaṇapati from captivity.

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97 Op.cit., p.195, footnote 5.

98 Āsvāsa 2.

99 A.R.I.E., 1956-57, No.B 181.

100 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, pp.314 ff.

101 The Bahāl plates of Singhana also refers to this incident (Ep.Ind., Vol.III, pp.110 ff.).

The Tasgaon plates of Kannara allude to this incident in a figurative way:

Tasmāi-laitra-paramparā-samudayī śrī Jaitrapāl-ākhyayā  
prakhyātōjīit-ākṣhila-pratibhāṭa-kṣhōṇipatir-jātavān |  
yah krudh-Āndhra-narēndram-agra-chulukī-kṛity-ā[the] vallī-  
layā  
Lakṣmīn-uddhṛita-Kumbha-sambhavamunēḥ kurv-van-navinām-iva ||

Further the Yenamaṇḍala inscription of Kākatīya Gaṇapati states that Mahādēva lost his life in the battle. So it is clear that in the battle between Jaitugi and himself, Mahādēva died and it was Gaṇapati, his son and successor who might have accompanied his father on the expedition, who was taken captive. After some time Jaitugi released him and reinstated him on the Kākatīya throne. This event must have taken place sometime before 1198 A.D., when Gaṇapati is said to have commenced his rule. Basing upon the earliest known inscription of Gaṇapati, dated in 1202 A.D.,<sup>104</sup> Rama Rao<sup>105</sup> thinks that the latter was in the Sāūṇa prison till that year. But this view is not correct since Jaitugi was dead before that, i.e., in the latter half of 1199 A.D.

It is rather curious that Jaitugi's own records do not make a reference to this important victory. Only one inscription

102 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXVII, pp.210 ff.

103 Ibid., Vol.III, p.97, verse 5. Herein he is called Mādhava, which is apparently a mistake for Mahādēva.

104 Teliana Inscriptions, Vol.I,

105 Kākatīyas of Warangal, p.59.

dated in 1199 A.D.<sup>106</sup> ascribes to him the epithet Telungarāya-kathōravallikuthāra. This may refer to his killing either Rudra or his brother Mahādēva.

Fight with the Gūrjaras and Paramāras:

His other epithets Gūrjara-bhayaivara and Mālarāja-disapatta seem to be more conventional than real. The Mālava contemporary of Jaitugi <sup>was</sup> with Subhatavarman, the son of Vindhya-varman. At the most, it may refer to some border clash between the armies on either side.

The Gūrjara contemporary was Bhīma II who succeeded his brother Mūlarāja. It is however doubtful if Jaitugi ever fought with this Gūrjara king.

Clash with the Muslims?

The Sankh inscription<sup>107</sup> credits Jaitugi as well as his father Bhīllama, with a victory over the Turushkas, i.e. the Muslims. But it is doubtful if the Muslim invaders <sup>ever</sup> touched the border of Sēūnadēśa any time during this period. North India was then the target of the invasion of the Muslims who had come up to Gujarat and Mālava, the immediate neighbours of the Sēūna territory. Bhīma, the contemporary of Bhīllama and Jaitugi, had to face the fierce attack of Qutb-ud-Din. Any way the Gūrjara country was not lost to the invaders. The Gūrjara army was able<sup>108</sup> to force the Muslim occupants out of Gujarat. There is hardly

106 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.18.

107 A.R.S.I.E., 1940-41, B.K.No.109.

108 A.K.Majumdar, Op.cit., p.145.

any evidence, however, to show that either Bhillama or Jaitugi had any thing to do with this or any other Muslim invasion.

**Feudatories and Subordinate officials:**

Among the subordinates of Jaitugi, Sōyidēva was quite prominent. He figures in two inscriptions of 1192 A.D. and 1199 A.D. wherein he bears the titles Hoysala-disāpatta. It is clear from this title that he played an important role in fighting Hoysala Ballāla, who was constantly at war with the Sēūnas. His another title Kalachurya-rāya-nirmūlana is rather curious. It was only Jaitugi's father Bhillama that had to fight the Kalachuryas, but his records do not mention Sōyidēva as his subordinate. It is however likely that he took part in some such battles. He also bore the title Yādaverāja-samuddharana which means that he helped the king in placing the kingdom on strong foundations. It indicates that he stood by the Sēūna king Bhillama as well as Jaitugi in all the fights with their adversaries. He later served Singhana too in one of whose inscriptions also he figures. The inscription of 1192 A.D. referred to above states that he was governing from Elamēla which may be identified with the Almēl near Kadalevād where the inscription is found. Both the villages are in the Sindgi taluk of Bijapur District.

Jaitrasīṃha and Māyidēva who were in the service of Bhillama continued to serve his son too. Jaitrasīṃha who formerly was the governor of Belvola seems to have been transferred to the northern area, when Belvola was occupied by the Hoysalas.

Masayiya-sāhani was another chief who rose to prominence in Jaitugi's time. This officer was formerly the minister of the Kalachurya king Saṅkama and continued to be in that position under the last prince of that family, Vīra Bājjala III. But when the latter was defeated by Bhillama and the Sēūna rule was established, Masayiya transferred his allegiance to the Sēūna kings. But Bhillama's records do not mention him at all. From the Kalachuri and Sēūna records wherein he is mentioned, it appears that he was in charge of the Ankulage Fifty,<sup>109</sup> a small district in the division of Tarikādu. The incomplete inscription at Mēnagōlī<sup>110</sup> which also belongs to Jaitugi, introduces a Sahadēva who was a military officer under him. He is described as a garuḍa to the serpents in the form of the generals of Magadha and the destroyer of the general of Turushka and Nēpāla kings. But this appears to be just a tall boast.

Tardavāḍī division was now governed by a certain Śaṅkara,<sup>111</sup> as is seen <sup>from</sup> by the inscriptions at Bijapur, dated in 1196 A.D.

Some inscriptions of Jaitugi's son Siṅghana also mention some subordinates of the former. One of them is Kēśava, figuring<sup>112</sup> in an inscription from Bellary District. Another such was Pārisa-setṭi who is described as magaramurāri, Jaitapāla-dēva-rāiyābhudaya-kāraṇa. He later on became Sarvādhikāri of Hagartṭage Three-hundred

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109 A.R.S.I.E., 1940-41, B.K.No.108.

110 Ep.Ind., Vol.V, pp.28 ff.

111 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.131.

112 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.367.



under Singhana. As remarked by Fleet he must have helped the king  
<sup>113</sup>  
 in quelling local opposition. Fleet refers to other chiefs Sōvi-  
 dēva and Hemmādidēva both brothers and belonging to the Nikumbha  
 family. They were governors of a district comprising sixteen hund-  
 red villages in the neighbourhood of Pāṭan in Khandesh and says  
<sup>114</sup>  
 that 'they must have been feudatories of Jaitugi I. Hemmādidēva  
 was a feudatory of Singhana and the date given for Sōvidēva is 1201  
 A.D. This is too late a date for Jaitugi and as such it is doubt-  
 ful if these two chiefs were in his service ~~(at all)~~, before Singhana  
 came to <sup>the</sup> throne.

#### Inscriptions:

Not many inscriptions have been found for Jaitugi, and those  
 that are so far discovered are in Bijapur District, except the one  
 which is at Mardāi in the Sholapur District. The number of these  
 records <sup>now</sup> is thirteen, in contrast to only three <sup>that had</sup> come to light when  
 Fleet wrote his work Dynasties

#### Territory:

As remarked earlier, Jaitugi did not add to the territory  
 acquired by his father. Bhillama tried his best to occupy the  
 Belvola country down the Malaprabhā but failed in doing so, being  
 opposed by the stronger opponent, the Hoysala Ballāla. Jaitugi's  
 efforts <sup>too</sup> in this direction ~~was~~ were unsuccessful. Thus the Sēūna  
 area in the <sup>s</sup>outh was restricted to the Bijapur District. There  
 was no change in the position in the <sup>n</sup>orth also, and the clashes <sup>n</sup>

113 Bom.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.11, p.522.

114 Ibid., p.521.

with the Gūrjaras and the Mālavas were of little material benefit. In the <sup>west</sup> ~~best~~ <sup>also</sup> the Śilāhāras did not <sup>yield</sup> ~~cede~~ and during his short rule, Jaitugi <sup>did</sup> ~~could~~ not perhaps try to acquire that part ~~at all~~. Towards the <sup>east</sup> ~~East~~, parts of Raichur District were under the Sēūnas even during his father's rule and no addition was made by Jaitugi. The successful encounter with the Kākatīyas only helped the checking of their infiltration into the Sēūna territory and not the <sup>Sēūna's</sup> ~~latter's~~ extension.

But soon things were to change and the Sēūna land was to see more prosperous days. Singhana, the son and successor of Jaitugi and the most powerful monarch of the ~~dynasty~~ <sup>dynasty</sup>, achieved what his father could not. He came to power pretty early in life and had a long rule to his credit. By this time Hoysala Ballāla <sup>had reached</sup> ~~was in~~ the last decade of his life and consequently <sup>was</sup> ~~less~~ powerful. ~~too~~. His successors were not as powerful as he was. These circumstances helped Singhana considerably. He brought under his control all the feudatory chiefs, who <sup>had</sup> ~~refused~~ <sup>even</sup> to accept the Sēūna rule and not only across the Malaprabhā, but <sup>even</sup> ~~beyond~~ the Tungabhadra, ~~too~~, he asserted his authority. Good portions of the present day Andhra Pradesh <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ subjected to his rule. In the <sup>North</sup> ~~North~~ he made himself <sup>glory of + of the</sup> ~~glory of~~ felt on the borders of the Gūrjaras and Mālavas. Thus the Sēūna kingdom under Singhana rose to its zenith.

## APPENDIX

### The Capital of the Sēūnas

The earliest inscription of Bhillama, dated in 1187 A.D.<sup>1</sup>, states that he was then ruling from Tadavalage, which seems to have been his capital then. This is confirmed by another inscription of 1189 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> which also states that he was ruling from the nelevīdu of Tenevalage, which is only a variant of Tadavalage. It follows from this that Bhillama first chose this place as his capital, when he was still consolidating his power.

Hēmādri states that Bhillama founded the city of Dēvagiri.<sup>3</sup> The Tasgaon plates of Kannara also state that Bhillama built the fort of Dēvagiri.<sup>4</sup> But no record of Bhillama mentions this place as his capital. The earliest reference to it is found in an inscription of 1192 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> when, however, Jaitugi was ruling from this capital. No inscriptions of Bhillama have been found round about this place ~~either~~<sup>or</sup>. It is doubtful, therefore, if Bhillama actually made this his capital ~~at all~~. Soon after his assuming regal powers he had to engage himself in wars with many antagonistic elements and the struggle continued till his death. As such he could hardly have any time to build a capital. So it is likely that the capital of the Sēūnas during the time of Bhillama was Tadavalage or Tenevalage which is the present Tadavalagā in Bijapur District. It was only his son Jaitugi who shifted the headquarters to Dēvagiri, i.e. present Daulatabad.

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1 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.49.

2 Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, pp.30 ff.

3 Op.cit., p.195, verse 39.

4 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXVII, pp.216 ff.

5 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.43.

-:125:-

The obvious reason for this change is that the Sēūpa territory had extended much to the South and Sīdīnēra<sup>n</sup> or Sīnnar, the original headquarters of Sēūpadēsa, would be too much to the North.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Zenith

#### Singhana II.

Jaitugi I was succeeded on the Sēūna throne by his son Singhana II. We learn from an inscription of Singhana<sup>1</sup> that the name of his mother, queen of Jaitugi, was Chīlādēvi. She figures in another inscription, also of Singhana, where he is seen making<sup>2</sup> a grant to a deity for the merit of his mother.

#### Accession:

The year of Singhana's accession cannot be fixed with precision. Different inscriptions give different dates for the commencement of his reign. Ambitious and heroic as he was, Singhana started taking active part in the affairs of the kingdom even when he was a prince. Soon after his succession, he set out on military campaigns annexing various new territories, and in all such territories his records were set up. Though an exact order cannot be fixed to the different first years quoted in the records in accordance with one or the other event, a plausible explanation can be suggested.

Of the two hundred and more inscriptions of Singhana, about seventy are dated only in regnal years while three ~~others~~ are dated in both the regnal as well as Śaka years. These, however, are not unanimous in counting the regnal years. The difference between

1 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, App.B No.185.

2 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K. No.44.

The two years, the earliest and the latest, for the commencement of his rule is also too much ranging from 1198 to 1214 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The table below will show the position regarding the same.

Place of inscription	Date given and English equivalent	First Year	Reference
Hire-Idigōdu (Shimoga District)	Year 21 = 1218 September	1198 A.D.	<u>Ep.Carn.</u> , Vol. VIII, Sb.423.
Bādgi (Bijapur)	Year 45, Subhākrit, Bhādrapada = 1242 September	Do.	<u>A.R.S.I.E.</u> , 1928-29, B.K. No.68.
Kumathā (Bijapur)	Year 2 - 1200 May	1199 A.D.	<u>Ibid.</u> , 1933-34 B.K. No.181
Adki (Gulbarga)	Year 45 - 1243 July	Do.	<u>Karnatak Historical Review</u> Vol.II, Desai Collection No. 45.
Pārila (Kurnool)	Year 28 - 1226 July	Do.	<u>A.R.I.E.</u> 1950-51, No.B 241.
Akkalakoṭ (Sholapur)	Year 12 - 1210 August	Do.	<u>Karnatak Inscriptions</u> , Vol. II, pp.44 ff.
Kōkaṭhūr (Belgaum)	Year 37 - 1235 August	Do.	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp.129 ff.
Dēvarabetṭa (Bellary)	Year 12 - 1210 August	Do.	<u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol.I, Pt.1, No.364.
Kumathe (Bijapur)	Year 3 - 1201 December	Do.	<u>A.R.S.I.E.</u> , 1933-34, B.K. No.182

3 According to one inscription the first year will be 1189 A.D. (Kr.Ins., Vol.II, No.35). But the record is very much damaged and in all probability the reading of the date is quite wrong. In 1189 A.D. Singhana's grandfather Bhillama was on throne. Similarly the dates 1229 A.D. (A.R.I.E., 1949-50, No.B 101) and 1237 A.D. (Ep.Carn Vol.VIII, Sb.319) for his first year must be ascribed to the mistake on the part of the scribe of the record.

-:128:-

Sankanūr (Raichur)	Year 40 - 1238-39	1199-1200 A.D.	A.R.I.E., 195 56, No.B 219
Halkaṭṭa (Gulbarga)	Year 13 - 1212 January	1200 A.D.	Ibid., 1959-60 No.B
Bijapur (Bijapur)	Year 40 - 1239 February	Do.	Ibid., 1957-58 No.B 208
Hirewadavatti (Dharwar)	Year 19 - 1218 April	Do.	Unpublished
Bāgḥalli (Sholapur)	Year 18 - 1217 April	Do.	Kr.Ins., Vol. II, pp.126 ff.
Kandgal (Bijapur)	Year 9 - 1208 June	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K. No.55
Talikōṭi (Do)	Year 26 - 1225 June	Do.	Ibid., 1929-30 B.K.No.65.
Mudnūr (Gulbarga)	Year 19 - 1218 June	Do.	A.R.I.E., 196 61, No.B
Sarūr (Bijapur)	Year 11 - 1210 July	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K. No.62.
Akkalkot (Sholapur)	Do.	Do.	Kr.Ins., Vol. II, No.33.
Niḍōpi (Bijapur)	Year 10 - 1209 July	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K. No.186.
Akkalkot (Sholapur)	Year 15 - 1214 September	Do.	Kr.Ins., Vol. II, No.34.
Kumatigi (Bijapur)	Year 16 - 1215 September	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K. No.112.
Kandgal (Do.)	Year 8 - 1207 October	Do.	Ibid., 1928-29 B.K.No.51.
Bijapur (Do.)	Year 23 - 1222 October	Do.	A.R.I.E., 1957 58, No.B 210.
Lakkundi (Dharwar)	Year 24 - 1223 April	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, No.53
Akkalkot (Sholapur)	Year 5 - 1204 November	Do.	Kr.Ins., Vol. II, No.32.
Benatūr (Dharwar)	Year 15 - 1214 November	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K. No.154.

Kuniteppa (Shimoga)	Year 18 - 1217 December	Do.	Ep.Carn., Vol. Vol.VIII, sb. 339.
Kandgal (Bijapur)	Year 21 - 1220 December	Do.	A.B.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K. No.50.
Mārdi (Sholapur)	Year 13, Saka 1134 - 1212 December	Do.	S.M.H.D., Vol. I, pp.52 ff.
Ingalagi (Gulbarga)	Year 8 = 1208 October	Do. 1201 A.D.	A.B.I.E., 1959 60, No.B 438.
Kummaravāḍi (Do.)	Year 21 - 1221 August	Do.	Ibid., 1960- 61, No.B 506.
Maḷavaḷḷi (Shimoga)	Year 29 - 1231 February	Do. 1203 A.D.	Ep.Carn., Vol. Vol.VII, sk.274
Do.	Year 20 - 1222 March	Do.	Ibid., sk.273.
Rāṣebennūr (Dharwar)	Year 29 - 1235 August	Do.	Kr.Ins., Vol. II, pp.128-29,
Algūr (Bijapur)	Year 41 - 1245 April	1205 A.D.	A.B.S.I.E., 1938-39, B.K. No.47.
Kāginellī (Dharwar)	Year 41 - 1246- 47	1206-07	Ibid., 1933-34 B.K.No.26.
Udagatṭi (Do.)	Year 1 - 1207 March	1207 A.D.	Ibid., 1933-36 B.K.No.106.
Mallūr (Do.)	Year 39 - 1245 June	Do.	Ibid., 1932-33 B.K.No.154.
Mallēnahallī (Shimoga)	Year 16 - 1223 February	1208 A.D.	Ep.Carn., Vol. VII, sk.175.
Hebbāl (Bijapur)	Year 42 - 1239 October	Do.	A.B.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K. No.89.
Sangūr (Dharwar)	Year 25 - 1233 February	1209 A.D.	Ibid., 1932-33 B.K.No.169.
Kundgōl (Do.)	Year 32 - 1240 March	Do.	Ibid., 1938-39 B.K.No.78.
Aladagerī (Do.)	Year 39 - 1247 April	Do.	A.B.I.E., 1957 58, No.B 221.
Hāvērī (Do.)	Year 22 - 1230 May	Do.	A.B.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K. No.89.



-:130:-

Do.	Year 19 - 1227 July	Do.	Ibid., B.K. No.95.
Kollūr (Shimoga)	Year 16 - 1224 September	Do.	Ep.Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb.293.
Chikkērūr (Dharwar)	Year 14 - 1223 February	1210 A.D.	A.R.I.E., 1957 58, No.B 241
Kalkēri (Do.)	Year 34 - 1243 March	Do.	Ibid., 1949-50 No.B 108.
Nīlūr (Anantapur)	Year 6, Saka 1137, - 1215 April	Do.	S.I.I., Vol.I, Pt,11, No.365.
Tilivalī (Dharwar)	Year 29, Saka 1160, 1238 December	Do.	A.R.I.E., 192 46, No.B 255.
Hirēkērur (Do.)	Year 7, - 1216 December	Do.	Ibid., 1951-52 No.B 80.
Kuppatūr (Shimoga)	Year 9 - 1218 December	Do.	Ep.Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb.256.
Mūḡund (Dharwar)	Year 15 - 1224 December	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K. No.96.
Kuñchūr (Do.)	Year 25 - 1234-35	Do.	A.R.I.E., 1957 58, No.B 295.
Bisalhalli (Shimoga)	Year 7 - 1216-17	1210-11	<u>Mysore</u> <u>Logical Report</u> 1928, No.74,
Satēnhalli (Dharwar)	Year 31 - 1241 January	1211 A.D.	A.R.I.E. 1957- 58, No.B 306.
Bandalike (Shimoga)	Year 14 - 1224 February	Do.	Ep.Carn., Vol. VII, Sk.248.
Hāvēri (Dharwar)	Year 18 - 1228 March	Do.	A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K. No.87.
Kaḷḷihāl (Do.)	Year 26 - 1236 March	Do.	Ibid., B.K. Nos.125, 127- 30.
Nāgāvi (Do.)	Year 5- 1216 March	Do.	Ibid., 1926-2 B.K.No.23.
Hāv <sup>ḥ</sup> ērī (Do.)	Year 18 - 1228 May	Do.	Ibid., 1932-3 B.K.No.90.
Dēvihosūr (Do.)	Year 23 - 1233 July	Do.	Ibid., B.K.No. 33.

Gudigēri (Do.)	Year 7 - 1217 August	Do.	Ibid., 1938-39 B.K.No.111.
Mēvunḍi (Do.)	Year 13 - 1223 June	Do.	Ibid., 1927-28 B.K.No.55.
Hānsabhāvi (Do.)	Year 10 - 1221 April	1212 A.D.	A.B.I.E., 1957 58, No.B 274.
Maḷavallī (Shimoga)	Year 11 - 1223 August - September	1213 A.D.	Ep.Carn., Vol. VII, Sk.268.
Do.	Year 10 - 1222 October	Do.	Ibid., Sk.No. 270.
Hagaritage (Gulbarga)	Year 29 - 1241 October	Do.	A.B.I.E. 1959- 60, No.B 472,
Hosahalli (Dharwar)	Year 29 - 1242 October	1214 A.D.	Ibid. 1957-58, No.B 287.

An analysis  
~~a review~~ of the above dates shows that the majority of the records consider that Singhapa's rule commenced in 1200 A.D. or slightly earlier, while inscriptions next largest in number count the regnal year from 1210-11 A.D. Only two inscriptions give the first year as 1198 A.D. and according to seven others it is 1199 A.D. Some inscriptions also give dates ranging between these two years. With this sort of conflicting evidence, it is difficult indeed to say when exactly he ascended the throne. The latest clear date known for his father in 1199 A.D., January 28, on which date he is stated to have been on the throne.<sup>4</sup> The earliest record of Singhapa is dated in 1200 A.D., January 28,<sup>5</sup> and he is seen on this date to be bearing all the royal titles thus indicating that he was the ruling king then. We have also another record for him which is dated in 1200 A.D., May 14.<sup>6</sup> This inscription is dated in his 2nd

<sup>4</sup> A.B.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.18.

<sup>5</sup> S.M.H.D., Vol.II, No.18.

<sup>6</sup> A.B.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.181.

regnal year <sup>Q</sup>Rudra thus assigning 1199 May, for the first year of his reign. It is not impossible, therefore, that Singhana succeeded his father soon after the month of January 1199 A.D., sometime two or three months after that. The reckoning of the first year from 1198 A.D., by the inscriptions cited above, indicates that during the last days of his father's rule, Singhana was already taking active part in the affairs of the country and in some parts, the prominence gained by him made the subjects feel that he was the actual king and this perhaps <sup>accounts for his</sup> explains the regnal years found in those records.

Another general feature that the above analysis exhibits is that the records found in the northern parts of the Sēūna territory above the river Malaprabhā reckon the first year of Singhana's reign from an earlier date whereas those found further south give a later date for the same occasion. There are, however, some exceptions. For instance, those records, which reckon his first regnal year between 1198 and 1200 A.D., are predominantly found mainly in Sholapur and Bijapur Districts and a few ~~such~~ in Gulbarga District. One each is found in Belgaum and Raichur Districts which also show 1199 A.D. as the first year of his rule. An inscription found in Kurnool District also gives 1199 A.D. as the first year. On the other hand, the records found below the Malaprabhā and giving such an early date for the event are significantly few. Those giving 1200 A.D. as the first year are only two in Dharwar District while eight of them found in the same District point to 1211 A.D., though few of them give dates in-between. Two give later dates like 1212 and 1214 A.D. Under these circumstances, a generalisation may be drawn. Singhana came to throne sometime in 1199 A.D., and his regn :

years were counted from that year in the territories which he inherited from his father, while in the area below the Malaprabhā, which was known as Belvola and comprised the northern part of Dharwar District<sup>and</sup> was later on conquered by him ~~and this explains~~<sup>commenced</sup> the reckoning of his regnal year<sup>in that area</sup> from years later than 1199-1200 A.D. mainly from 1210 and 1211 A.D. An inscription from <sup>7</sup> Dōṇi in the Mundargi taluk of Dharwar District seems to support this surmise. Dated in the year Vyaya, the one which apparently coincided with Śaka 1148 corresponding to 1226-27 A.D., it states that sixteen years had passed by then after the entry of Singhana into the country (nādu). Dōṇi, the findspot of the record, was included in Belvola and the 'country' which Singhana entered must therefore refer to this country only. The event took place according to the record ~~is roughly~~ in 1211 A.D. and we have observed above that bulk of the records found in that area count the king's rule <sup>8</sup> from this year.

#### The Southern Expedition (First Phase):

Singhana had no time to idle away in his capital. Of course on the frontiers of his kingdom, conditions were not as disturbing as in the days of his predecessors, and there was comparative quiet. The Gūrjaras and the Paramāras in the North had to concentrate all their power to protect themselves from the more frequent onslaughts of the Muslims. The Kākatiya king who was reinstated by Singhana's father 'out of compassion' had little reason to be offensive towards

<sup>7</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1927-28, B.K.No.79.

<sup>8</sup> It may be noted that on the basis of the few records at his disposal, Fleet placed the succession of Singhana in 1210 A.D. (Op.cit., Vol.I, Pt.ii, p.522). Bhandarkar also held the same view (op.cit., p.150.)

him. In the South, it looked as though the Sēūnas and the Hoysaḷas had accepted Malaprabhā as the border. But Ballāḷa, apparently suspicious of the Sēūna's activities, pitched his camps in the northern parts of his territory and a unit of his army seems to have been stationed at Lokkigundi, the strategic fort of Belvola. Singhana on the other hand diverted his attention towards feudatory rulers like the Kadāmbas, the Raṭṭas and the Śilāhāras, who were to be subjected first to his rule before conquering Belvola, about which of course, he had already entertained designs. Soon after his coronation, therefore, he set out on expedition.

Singhana seems to have planned to move Southwards first. According to the record from Pulunḷ, we find him at Pūrṇajā<sup>9</sup> modern Pulunḷ in Sholapur District, on the 28th January 1200 A.D. This inscription credits him with victory over the Mālavas, Gūrjaras and the mighty Hoysaḷa king as also rulers of Dāhala and Chōḷa. But since it was not possible for him to be at war with so many kings and defeat them within hardly a few months after his coming to throne, it is to be understood that these titles were merely traditional. Soon, i.e., in about next ~~xx~~ two years, his influence and sway extended down the Malaprabhā in the northern parts of Belvola country as is evident from the fact that an inscription of his dated 1202 A.D., December, is found at Sūḍi<sup>10</sup> in the Dharwar District. But a major portion of that country was under the control of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa. As we do not find many of Singhana's records

9 S.M.H.D., Vol.II, pp.59 ff.

10 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.No.233.

in this area for the next few years it appears that Singhana's efforts to occupy it<sup>9</sup> were successfully resisted by Ballāḷa. It was probably for this reason that he diverted his attention towards the North.

#### Northern Expedition:

In Mālava, Paramāra Subhatavarman, his son Arjunavarman and the latter's son Dēvapāla were Singhanāśi<sup>10</sup> contemporaries. All the three were subjected to the attack of Singhana. The position of Bhīma II, the Chaulukya king of Gujarat, was not secure. He was subjected to the attacks of Paramāras besides the Muslims. The Chāhamāna chiefs who were then governing the Lāṭa were also frequently raiding the Chaulukya territory with the help of the Paramāras, whose suzerainty they had accepted. Thus this state of feuds between the rival groups provided an opportunity for Singhana to lead his army northwards and the first target of his attack was Lāṭa, through which he proceeded to the Mālava borders.

#### Invasions of Lāṭa:

Lāṭa was then an area of dispute, frequently changing hands between the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras, while Śaṅkha, its chief, was trying to retain his independence, though he had to seek the help of either of them in doing so.

Though the epigraphical evidence<sup>11</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> scanty, works like Kirtikāumudī of Sōmēśvara, Vasantavilāsa of Bālachandra and Hammīramada-nardana of Jayasimha supply useful information regarding Singhana's attack on the Lāṭa. Vasantavilāsa for instance <sup>hints</sup>

at his war with Śaṅkha. In <sup>the</sup> course of the narration, the work describes a situation when <sup>re</sup> Śaṅkha, with an intention to occupy Cambay which was in possession of the Chaulukyas, tries to win over <sup>to</sup> his side, Vastupāla, the minister of the Vāghēla chief Vīradhavalā who was busy fighting the enemies. Vastupāla, in reply to Śaṅkha's boasts, reminds him of the fact that Śaṅkha had once been taken captive by Singhana. <sup>11</sup> Kīrtikāumudī <sup>12</sup> also concurs with it. This shows that Singhana's invasion of Lāṭa was a successful one, though Śaṅkha boasts of his victory over him.

Soon after, Singhana led another campaign against Lāṭa, which had by then come under the subordination of Paramāra Arjunavarman. Simha, the uncle of Śaṅkha, seems to have defeated the army of Singhana with the help of Arjunavarman.

The recently published Mandhata plates of Jayasimha-Jayavarman <sup>13</sup> dated V.S.1331 furnish some details regarding this invasion. The record states that Salakhanaḍēva, the father of the Chāhamāna chief Anayasimha, who was the subordinate of Jayasimha-Jayavarman, <sup>ed</sup> conquering the invincible army of Simhanadēva and pulled down from the horse, Sāgēya-nāyaka, the leader of the army of Simhana. The record further adds that in appreciation of Salakhana's valour, Arjuna and Simha nodded their heads. Simhanadēva mentioned here is no doubt Sēūpa Singhana. Simha, the ally of Arjuna, who is none else than the Paramāra Arjunavarman, must be the same as the Lāṭa chief

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11 Canto III, verse 41-42.

12

13 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.

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 Siṃha, who is mentioned in Hammīra-madamardana. Also, since the record states that the Sēūna general fell in the battle and that Siṃha and Arjunavarman appreciated the valour of Salakhana, the battle may be said to refer, as has been suggested by the editor of the record, to Singhana's invasion of Lāṭa.

The defeat at the hands of Salakhana did not <sup>de</sup>alter Singhana and he led another campaign against Lāṭa almost immediately, with a determined effort. This perplexed Siṃha as can be gathered from Hammīra-madamardana. The expected help from his Paramāra overlords did not come this time and he had to turn to the Gūrjara king and <sup>15</sup>crave for the latter's friendship. Though it is possible that the Gūrjara might have helped him, Siṃha seems to have lost the battle, <sup>16</sup>and, probably, his brother Sindhurāja died in the fight.

#### Raids on Mālava:

Singhana led his campaigns against Mālava early in his career. The first of the kings who had to face his attack was Subhatavarman. On the presumption that both Subhatavarman and the Sēūna Jaitugi I lived till 1210 A.D., A.K. Majumdar thought <sup>17</sup>that Subhatavarman's Sēūna contemporary was Jaitugi I. But it has been shown above that Jaitugi was succeeded by Singhana, much earlier, i.e., in the year 1199 A.D. itself. Nor did Subhatavarman <sup>18</sup>live till 1210 A.D. An inscription of Singhana dated in 1206 A.D.

14 Ed. C. D. Dalal (Cinekhwad Oriental Series, No X).

15 Art II, p 4.

16 Chaulukyas Of Gujarat, p 154

17 Op.cit., p.148.

18 A.R.S.I.E. 1927-28, B.K.No.264 ~~1927-28, B.K.No.264~~



refers to Mālava-bhīma-Arjuna, as having been defeated by Singhana. This Arjuna is obviously the Paramāra king Arjunavarman. This reference goes to show that by 1206 A.D. Arjunavarman had already succeeded Subhatavarman. Further, a record of Singhana himself credits him with 'killing' a certain Subhata<sup>19</sup> who can be safely identified with Subhatavarman. Though it cannot be asserted that Subhatavarman was actually killed by Singhana, it is clear that Singhana attacked Mālava during the latter's rule.

Soon after Arjunavarman ascended the Paramāra throne, Singhana once again led his army against Mālava. Singhana's inscription dated 1222 A.D.<sup>20</sup> and an inscription of Rāmachandra<sup>21</sup> as also Hēmadri,<sup>22</sup> mention an Arjuna as being defeated by Singhana. Fleet identified this Arjuna with Vāghēla Arjuna, the successor of Visaladēva and the ruler of Gūrjara country. But Vāghēla Arjuna did not come to power till 1261-62 A.D.<sup>23</sup> To avoid this discrepancy, Fleet surmised that Arjuna "may have held a command under his father Visaladēva (1243-44 A.D. to 1261-62 A.D.) and so may have been contemporaneous with Singhana.<sup>24</sup> Ehandarkar, on the other hand, identified him with Mālava Arjunavarman.<sup>25</sup> Fleet's identification<sup>is</sup> obviously wrong as it involves chronological discrepancies. The inscription of 1206 A.D. referred to above describes Arjuna as Mālava-bhīma

19 S.M.H.D., Vol.I, p.62.

20 Ep.Ind., Vol.III, pp.110 ff.

21 Ibid., Vol.XXV, pp.199 ff. 22 Op.cit., p.195, verse 45.

23 Majumdar, op.cit., chart on p.207.

24 Bom.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.ii, p.525 and note 4.

25 Op.cit. p.150.

Arjuna, thus clearly indicating that Arjuna was the Paramāra king.  
 Another inscription dated 1276 A.D.<sup>26</sup> associates Arjuna, an adversary of Singhana, with Mālava (Arjuna-Mālava-kshatipati). Yet another inscription which is incomplete describes that "to Maṇḍava, Singhana was like the son of Indra (i.e. Arjuna) to Khāṇḍava (vishaya-maṇḍava-khāṇḍava-Śakrasūnu)".<sup>27</sup> In the same inscription, again he is stated to have raided Maṇḍava. This Maṇḍava is the present Māṇḍū in Madhya Pradesh which was known as Maṇḍapadurga, and which enjoyed the position of the headquarters of the Paramāras, in addition to Dhārā. Arjunavarman's inscription of 1214 A.D.<sup>28</sup> states that the king then had camped at Maṇḍapadurga. Thus it becomes clear that Arjuna whom Singhana defeated was the Paramāra Arjunavarman and ~~he~~<sup>that Singhana</sup> besieged the fort of Māṇḍū, in course of his expedition. The inscription of 1206 A.D., which refers to Arjunavarman's defeat at the hands of Singhana, is dated in the month of March of that year. It follows therefore that the invasion took place sometime before that.

#### Southern Expedition (Second phase):

After the victorious campaign against the Mālava king, Singhana directed his army towards the south again. A study of the inscriptions of his reign as well as of Hoysala Ballāla II<sup>^</sup> shows that he did not at once attack the latter. Instead, he put down the

26 M.A.R., 1929, Inscription No 69

27 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.57.

28 Dynastic History of Northern India, p.895. The Mandhata plates of Jayasimha-Jayavarman referred to above also state that Anayasimha, the Chāhamana chief under the king, was at Maṇḍapadurga, with the latter's permission.

smaller powers like the Kadambas of Goa, <sup>the</sup> Silāhāras of Kolhapur, the Rattas of Saundatti and the like; and this was not without a purpose. The intention of Singhana was to bring under his control these chiefs who otherwise would have joined hands with Ballāla.

The first of the rival chiefs who faced the raid of the Sēūna army was the Kadambax king of Goa. This incident took place in the latter half of 1206 A.D., as is known from the Mankani inscription of that date. Recording a certain grant by the king's chief-of-army, Sahadēva-daṇḍanāyaka on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the amāvāsyā of the month of Phālguna<sup>29</sup> in Śaka 1128, Krōdhana, i.e. on the 11th of March 1206 A.D., the epigraph states that the king Singhana on that date was camping in a village on the bank of the Kṛishṇā and that he was then on his march to the southern districts. Though the portion narrating this incident is damaged in the record, it is clear that he was then marching against Jayakēśi. This Jayakēśi is Jayakēśi III<sup>30</sup> of the Kadamba king of Goa, who is mentioned in the context. Two inscriptions at Ambe<sup>31</sup> of which one is dated in Śaka 1150, Śārvarī (1228-29 A.D.) refer to a certain Kēśi as having been vanquished by Singhana. The editor of the records expressed his inability to identify this adversary of Singhana II. But read together with the Manikani inscription, we are left with hardly any doubt regarding his identification with

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29 The record being damaged, the name of the month cannot be read. But in the year Krōdhana there occurred only one eclipse and that was in Phālguna. In the absence of the week-day, the details are not verifiable (either).

30 ..... Siṃhanadēvarasaru Dēvagiriya ..... Dakṣiṇa-diśāvarada  
digvijay-ōdyōgadim nadēdu barutaṁ Śrī Kṛishṇavēṇṇā-nadī-tiraṁ bīdīdu

Jayakēśi, the Kadamba of Coa.

The absence of Jayakēśi's records dated after 1203-04 A.D. indicate that he was completely subdued by Singhana. But a recently discovered inscription from Hire Anagi<sup>33</sup> seems to suggest that his son Sōvideva was reluctant to accept the Sēūna suzerainty. This record dated during the reign of Singhana in 1238 A.D. states that Kadamba-chakravarti Sōvideva attacked Goṭṭagadi situated in Dēvaṅgeri 140. It appears that Sōvideva, unwilling to subject himself to the Sēūna rule, was <sup>turning</sup> ~~being~~ hostile, by attacking the neighbouring villages. But his attempt to force himself did not ~~even~~ bear fruit.

After the subjugation of the Kadambas, Singhana's army turned towards the territory of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur. These chiefs were originally the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas but after the extinction of that dynasty, they considered themselves independent. It has been observed in the earlier chapter that some early member of this family had formed an alliance with the Sēūnas; but when the latter rose to imperial status, they seem to have refused to recognise the Sēūna supremacy.

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bīdu ..... Kottumbāceya holeya Kuppajalu [bāmdalli] Konkana-Gōveya  
Jayakēśi-dēvarasara .....

31 S.M.H.D., Vol.I, pp.62 ff.

32 The only other Kēśi, the contemporary of Singhana was Kēśi-rāja of the family of the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan (Indian Culture, Vol.II, p.416). But the identification of Kēśi with the Kadamba king appears to be more probable.

33 A.R.I.E., 1960-61, No.B 421.

The Śilāhāra contemporary of Singhana was Bhōja II. That he was practically independent when the former ascended the throne, is indicated by the paramount titles such as paramāvara, parama-bhattāraka and the like which he bore. He also called himself Pāschima-chakravartī. Bhōja II is the last member of the Śilāhāra family to rule, for his son Gaṇḍarāditya known from Satara plates never succeeded his father. Apparently, Singhana, after the conquest of this territory, annexed it to the Sēūpa dominions and entrusted its administration to one of his officers.

Good many records refer to the victory of Singhana over Bhōja. For instance a record of 1216 A.D. mentions Bhōja as being subdued by Singhana. Another record dated in the next year also credits him with the destruction of the fort of Pannāla, which was the stronghold of the Śilāhāras. The Tilivalli inscription of 1238 A.D. also states that Singhana inflicted a crushing defeat on Bhōja of Pannāla. Likewise Hēṃādri also refers to this feat.

This victory must have been achieved by 1213 A.D., for, we find in the Śilāhāra area Sēūpa records dated in this and subsequent years. The one of 1213 A.D. is found in Khedrāpur, a village near Kolhapur, which was the capital of the Śilāhāras. Another which is dated in 1218-19 A.D. is found in Kolhapur itself.

34 Ind.Cult., Vol.II, p.428.

35 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, No.B 135.

36 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.135.

37 K.S.P.P., Vol.XXVIII, pp.1 ff.

38 Op.cit., p.195, verse 45.

39 J.B.E.H.A.S., Vol.XII, pp.7 ff.

40 A.R.I.E. 1945-46, No.B 354.

### The Raṭṭas:

Not much time could ~~not~~ have lapsed before the Raṭṭas of Saundatti were brought under the Sēūna yoke. Like most of the other feudatory chiefs, Raṭṭas also after the extinction of the Chālukya rule enjoyed independence, though for a short time. But curiously rather, for a very long time, i.e. even as late as in 1228 A.D. no Raṭṭa record mentions any imperial ruler as their overlord. The inscriptions of Kārtavīrya IV, which range in date from 1199 to 1218 A.D., do not associate him with any overlord while the record of his son Lakshmidēva II also indicates his independent status. The only reference to the conquest of the Raṭṭas by the Sēūna army is found in an inscription of 1233 A.D.<sup>41</sup> wherein Bīchapa the famous general of Singhapa is given this credit. This position made Fleet surmise that even Lakshmidēva II, the last member of the family, retained independence even in 1228 A.D. which is the date of his latest record and that his defeat at the hands of Singhapa's general might be placed in 1230 A.D.<sup>42</sup> Dinkar Desai held the same view but he thought that this event occurred in or about 1233 A.D.<sup>43</sup> But this could not have been the case. Singhapa completed the victory over the Śilāhāras, who were the immediate neighbours of the Raṭṭas, before 1213 A.D. The district of Mirinje, ~~which~~ was ~~not~~ adjacent to Kūṇḍi-division, which formed the Raṭṭa territory, was already under the Sēūnas, as can be seen from the Khēdrapur inscription of 1213 A.D. It is clear from an inscription at Munavalli

41 J.E.B.E.A.S., Vol.X, pp.384 ff.

42 Bcm. Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.II, pp.557-58.

43 Mahāmāṇḍalēśvaras Under The Chālukyas, p.195.

that that place was under the Sēūna rule before 1222 A.D.<sup>44</sup> Muna-  
valli is hardly six miles from Saundatti, which was the headquarters  
of the Raṭṭas. It is impossible to <sup>believe</sup> ~~show~~ that when all the sur-  
rounding land was under the Sēūna king, a tiny spot which was the  
land of the Raṭṭas could have maintained its independence, defying  
the authority of Singhana. It follows therefore that in <sup>the</sup> course of  
his campaign against the other chiefs in the South, Singhana put  
down the Raṭṭas also, and this must have happened by about 1212  
A.D. <sup>only</sup>. He allowed the chiefs to continue to rule over their  
territory, ~~of course~~ in the capacity of feudatories. The title  
mahāmandalēśvara applied to both Kārtavīrya IV as well as his son  
Lakshmidēva II is also indicative of their subordinate position.  
After the death of Lakshmidēva, probably in the battle with Bīcha,  
the Raṭṭa territory became a part of the Sēūna kingdom.

When Singhana had engaged himself with the chiefs of Goa  
and Kolhapur, Ballāla was trying in vain<sup>45</sup> to put down the Kadambas  
of Mangal, the lords of Banavāsi. Taking hint from the opposition  
and the set back of Ballāla not with in Banavāsi, Singhana soon  
moved towards that coveted province. It is indicated from his ins-  
criptions that he left Belvola unattached for sometime and proceeded  
to Banavāsi which he took over. Though it is not known when exact-  
ly he invaded Banavāsi, it is clear that by 1215 A.D. his occupation  
of Banavāsi was complete.<sup>45</sup> In <sup>the</sup> course of this expedition Singhana's

44 Kr.Ins., Vol.I, pp.66 ff.

45 Inscriptions bearing this and subsequent dates state that  
Singhane was ruling from Banavāsi and his officers are seen adminis-  
tering this province.

army met with opposition from the Kadamba king of Hangal, who<sup>was</sup> ~~he~~  
<sup>also</sup> subdued. Both the Kadamba and the Sēūṇa records of the period do  
not refer to any clash between them. Only a later inscription, ~~in~~  
of 1238 A.D.<sup>46</sup> says that Bīchana conquered the Kadambas. Also ano-  
ther inscription of the same year from Raṭṭihalli<sup>47</sup> calls Singhana  
as Kadam-āri i.e. the 'enemy of the Kadambas'. But the Kadamba  
conquest by Singhana was over much earlier than that for we know  
that by 1215 A.D. itself the Banavāsi province, which was the terri-  
tory of the Kadambas, had been<sup>come</sup> a part of the Sēūṇa kingdom. Till  
1211 A.D., the Kadamba king Kāvama<sup>48</sup>deva was engaged in fighting  
Hoysala Ballāla. Inscriptions of Singhana dated in 1215-16 A.D.  
state that Māyideva-daṇḍanāyaka, the<sup>49</sup> trusted general of Singhana<sup>50</sup>  
was in charge of Banavāsi at that time. A record of 1217 A.D.  
represents Singhana as being at Banavāsi and refers to Māyideva  
also. Another interesting point is that this inscription is found  
at Udri, in Sorab taluk, which means that this place was then under  
Singhana's control. This place is ancient Uddhare, an important  
fort in the province of Banavāsi and a stronghold of the Kadambas.  
Thus the Kadambas of Hangal were put down by the Sēūṇa king quite  
early, i.e., before 1215 A.D.

The growing age of Ballāla and the bad effects of constant

46 J.E.B.R.A.S., Vol.X, pp.384 ff.

47 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.B 92.

48 A hero stone of this king refers to Ballāla's attack (Ep.Carn  
Vol.VIII, Sb.59. .

49 See Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, p.95; Hl. 44 and 48.

50 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sb.135.



wars with different forces from the very beginning of his career helped Singhana gain the upper hand over him. Inscriptions hint that Ballāla did try to check the infiltration of the Sēūna army southwards, but by that time Singhana had grown too strong for him. The latter's titles like Karnātarāya-timira-pradhvaṃsana and Ballālarāya-rājavāvāna-vidhvaṃsana, occurring in his inscription of 1215 A.D. and a good number of inscriptions found in Shikarpur, Sorab and Honnali taluks of Shimoga district, clearly indicate that Singhana effectively fought with Ballāla and occupied considerable portions of the latter's northern territory.

In the meantime, when a part of Singhana's army under the general Māyidēva was busy with military operations in the Banavāsi territory of which he was made the governor, another general of Singhana, probably Bīchana, engaged himself in Belvola. Lokkigundi or Lakkundi was, as observed earlier, the stronghold of Ballāla in the early years of Singhana's reign. But Singhana's influence was fast spreading in Belvola. An inscription of his dated in 1202<sup>51</sup> A.D. is found in Sūdi<sup>51</sup> a village to the north of Lakkundi. Another inscription of 1207 A.D. is found in Udagaṭṭi<sup>52</sup>, in Ranebennur taluk of Dharwar District. These go to show that Ballāla's hold in this area was gradually slackening and Singhana was fast gaining ground. <sup>however, did</sup> But It is certain that he ~~could~~ not conquer Belvola before 1212 A.D., April, when still the fort of Lakkundi belonged to

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51 A.E.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.No.233.

52 Ibid., 1935-36, B.K.No.106.

<sup>53</sup>  
Ballāḷa. But the inscription of 1213 A.D., February, belonging  
to Singhana, and found at Gadag, <sup>54</sup> very near Lakkundi, shows that  
the latter fort fell to Singhana, during the next few months.  
From other inscriptions dated 1214 <sup>55</sup> and 1215 A.D. <sup>56</sup> found <sup>in</sup> at Gadag  
taluk and round about, which comprised of the district of Belvola,  
it becomes evident that Singhana soon conquered the whole of  
Belvola. ~~and~~ The absence of Hoysala records in the area <sup>after this date</sup> ~~since then~~  
strengthens this surmise.

After Belvola, the adjacent district of Purigere, i.e. the  
region round about modern Lakshmēśvar in Dharwar District, was  
annexed to the Sēūṇa kingdom. In 1213 A.D. we see an officer of  
Singhana, Māyi-paṇḍita by name, governing that region. <sup>57</sup> This  
officer is to be distinguished from Māyidēva-dandanāyaka, who was  
at the same time governing the Banavāsi province. Thus starting  
his southern expedition in the year 1206 A.D., Singhana succeeded  
in the course of the next ten years in extending his sway over  
the vast area between the Malaprabhā and the Tungabhadra, com-  
prising of the present Dharwar and Karwar Districts and parts of  
Shimoga District, covering the Honnali taluk. During this expedi-  
tion, the smaller chiefs like the Guttas of Guttavolal, the  
Pāṇḍyas of Nūrubāḍa and the like were brought under the Sēūṇa  
rule, though it is not unlikely that they were reluctant to forego  
the independent status which they had acquired following the pro-

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53 Ibid., 1926-27, B.K.No.52.

54 Ibid., B.K.No.9.

55 Ibid., B.K.No.154.

56 Ibid., B.K.No.23.

57 Ibid., 1935-36, B.K.No.25.

tracted struggle for power between the Chālukyas, the Sēūnas and the Hoysalas.

#### Relations with the Sindas of Belagutti

A rather unexpected but happy ally that Singhana found, made his task of conquering the Hoysala territory easier. This ally was the Sinda chief of Belagavatti, i.e. modern Belagutti in Shimoga District. <sup>III</sup>Isvaradēva, the chief of this family, readily joined the Sēūna side and was of considerable help in extending Singhana's sway in this area. In one of the inscriptions he is described as Sinhala-rāiyābhūdaya-karṇa, i.e., the cause of the rise of the kingdom of Sinhala, i.e. Singhana. <sup>58</sup> Such a high complement to the chief could not be a mere flattery. Its full import is understood when we take into consideration the situation of Belagutti. It was in the heart of the Hoysala territory and <sup>once</sup> when Singhana's army ~~could have~~ <sup>had</sup> an access to this place, it was easy for it to fight out the Hoysala. This is <sup>why</sup> ~~how~~ Singhana bestowed the highest honour <sup>on</sup> ~~of making~~ the Sinda ally as the cause of the rise of his own kingdom.

The Sinda had his own reasons to side with the Sēūna, to the disadvantage of his overlord, the Hoysala. Trusted feudatories of the Chālukyas and even of the Kalachuryas, the Sindas were reluctant to accept the authority of the Hoysalas. But when Ballāla II came to the throne they could no longer remain independent. The then Sinda chief <sup>about</sup> ~~with~~ Isvaradēva II was not happy ~~with~~ his subjugation

But Īsvara<sup>who</sup>dēva III<sub>A</sub> succeeded him was eager to throw off the unwanted Hoysaḷa yoke. The swift southward movement of Singhaṇa and his conquest of Belvola and Puligere districts as also his sway over the Banavāsi province encouraged him to form an alliance with the Sēūṇa king and get rid of his subordination to the Hoysaḷa. In fact his inscription of 1208<sup>63</sup><sub>A.D</sub> states that the Sindas came to power after the Chālukyas, thus overlooking the Hoysaḷas and indicating the bold attempt of the Sinda to free himself from subordination. An inscription of 1215<sup>64</sup> A.D. shows him as a feudatory of Singhaṇa, when the latter's general Māyidēva was governing Banavāsi. The

64 Ep.Cern., Vol.VII, Hl.44. The details of the date available from this damaged record are Śaka 1137, Yuva.....Brihaspativāra.

fact that no inscription either of the Sēūnas or the Sindas refers to any clash between the two indicates that Īsvara<sup>65</sup>dēva readily accepted the rule of Singhaṇa. But this irritated Ballāḷa who for that reason attacked the Sinda territory a number of times. The earliest of these was a fierce battle between Īsvara's general Chinnayya and the Hoysaḷa army consisting of tribal soldiers (bēḍas), fought early in 1216 A.D.<sup>65</sup> In this battle when the Hoysaḷa army raided Mādanabāge<sup>66</sup>, a village very near Belagutti, an officer under the Sinda chief lost his life. The result was not advantageous to the Hoysaḷa either; and he had to make a fresh attack in the very next year. The Hoysaḷa army, this time led by Ballāḷa himself, invaded Bel<sup>a</sup>gutti, which was now in charge of Bommidēva of Bandanike who probably was a subordinate of Īsvara<sup>67</sup>dēva. The recently discovered hero-stone from Kōḍamaggi in Hirekerur taluk of Dharwar District dated in 1217 A.D.<sup>67</sup> during the reign of Singhaṇa which supplies this information refers to the death of a hero in the fight with the enemies. Probably Ballāḷa's army had to stage a retreat. Another hero-stone<sup>68</sup>, belonging to the reign of Singhaṇa and dated in 1218 A.D., refers to another attack on the Sinda territory, probably by Ballāḷa's army. These and similar hero-stones scattered in Hirekerur taluk speak of the frequent clashes between the Sindas and the Hoysaḷa armies. Obviously, the Sēūna

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65 Ibid., III.48.

66 Mādanabāge is the same as Mādanabhāvi, a village quite near Belagutti.

67 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 572.

68 Ibid., 1958-59, No.B 611.

king, who during this period was camping at Banavāsi, apprehensive of the Hoysala attacks, assisted the Sinda in expelling the enemy's forces. It is worth noting in this connection that Belagutti and Hirekerur <sup>(which)</sup> are not far off from each other and were both included in the province of Banavāsi. This explains the existence of a number of hero-stones ~~scattered~~ in this area, commemorating the death of heroes from different places who took part in one or the other of <sup>these</sup> ~~such~~ battles.

But this alliance between the Sinda chief and the Sēūna king did not last long. Though reasons for the break-up and the later fights between them are not known, it appears as if the Sinda chief wanted to remain an independant ruler and an ally of Singhana. But when later on, as we see from inscriptions, he was only to be a subordinate under one of Singhana's officers, who governed Banavāsi, he fell out and turned against the Sēūna.

The first note of such discord is <sup>heard</sup> ~~not~~ in the Ablūr inscription of Singhana, dated 1219 A.D. <sup>69</sup> refers to the attack of Īsvara-dēva on Ablūr situated in the Nāgarakhanda division of the Banavāsi province.

Īsvaradēva was helped by the nāyakas of Sātālige-nāḍ in <sup>70</sup> this attack which however seems to have had no effect. In 1221 A.D.

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69 Ep.Ind., Vol.V, pp.262 ff.

70 Dinkar Desai (Mahāmāṇḍalēśvaras under the Chālukyas, p.53), thought that Ablūr was under the Kadambas of Hangal and that Īsvara-dēva with alliance of the Sēūna king was attacking the Kadamba territory. But this surmise is not correct. The record clearly says <sup>a</sup> that Ablūr was situated in Nāgar<sup>a</sup>khanda which formed a part of Banavāsi <sup>and</sup> <sup>that</sup>

again, when Singhana was still in Banavāsi, <sup>71</sup>Īsvaradēva led a raid on Muḷugunda, this time assisted by Bommidēva, apparently the chief of Bandanike. Muḷugunda, was then under the charge of Malleya-nāyaka, an official subordinate to Sarvādhikāri Vankuva-rāhuta who later on succeeded to the governorship of Banavāsi. Muḷugunda is the present Chinmulgund in Hirekerur Taluk, which was included in the Banavāsi province. In 1223 A.D. again <sup>72</sup>Īsvaradēva raided Chikka-kerevūr, the modern Chikkērūr in the same taluk. Still another inscription, the date of which cannot be ascertained, claims that <sup>73</sup>Īsvaradēva destroyed the Sēūṇa army and perhaps entered into Belvola. But this certainly is a tall claim. At any rate, the struggle continued for long. After the death of <sup>74</sup>Īsvaradēva his son Kēsavadēva continued the hostilities against the Sēūṇa generals. An inscription of 1232 A.D. <sup>75</sup>states that Kēsavadēva attacked Honnab<sup>a</sup>misettī the governor of Banavāsi but was defeated. Bīradēva, the successor and probably the son of Kēsavadēva kept up the fighting with the Sēūṇas. Hero-stones with dates ranging from 1244 A.D. to 1249 A.D. <sup>76</sup>refer to such battles with Sēūṇa generals. The one of 1244 A.D. states that when Bīradēvarasa was governing at Belagavatti, a Lakhanapāla attacked his territory and a battle took place at Hattivūr. This Lakhanapāla seems to be the same as Lakshmīpāla, the general of <sup>that</sup> Banavāsi was being ruled over by Singhana. So the attack of Īsvaradēva was directed against the Sēūṇa and not the Kadāmbas.

71 A.R.I.E., 1957-58, B 274.

72 Ibid., No.B 248.

73 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.276.

74 It was thought that the last date for Īsvaradēva was 1222 A.D. But that he lived later than that is clear from at least two inscriptions dated 1226 (Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, H1.98) and 1228 A.D.

Singhana who took part in a number of battles, on behalf of the Sēūna king. Another clash of Bīrarasa<sup>77</sup> with the Sēūna general Śrīdharadaṇḍanāyaka took place at Kūdali, when Bīrarasa was camping at Kallise, in 1245 A.D. This Kūdali is modern Kūdli on the confluence of Tungā and Bhadrā in Shimoga District, to the south of Beḷagutti. Still another fight took place between the two rival parties in the following year, i.e. in 1247 A.D., April, this time in the open <sup>area</sup> ~~space~~ near Nēmatti, the modern Nyāmati to the north of Kūdli.

War<sup>5</sup> with the Hoysalas:

Ballāḷa died in the year 1220 A.D., but the enmity between the two houses did not die. It could not <sup>die</sup> also, particularly when the Sēūna stood in the position of the usurper of a good portion of the Hoysala land. The reason for the set back of the Hoysala<sup>78</sup> in the northern part of his kingdom was two-fold. Firstly, the Sēūna by then had grown too strong an opponent for him. Secondly, the happenings in the Chōḷa country attracted <sup>Ballāḷa</sup> him towards that side and ~~made him pay less attention to the Sēūna.~~ <sup>it impossible for</sup> ~~made him pay less~~ <sup>to move</sup> attention to the Sēūna.

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<sup>75</sup> Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Hl.43. The details of the date are 1154 (current) Khara, Phālguna, Sunday. The tithi is not given. The date might fall in February or March.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., Hl.49.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., Hl.54. The text given in Kannada script reads the name of the chief as Harabaraḍēvarasa and this induced Dinkar Desai to give him an alternative name Harabīra (op.cit., p.58). But the text in the Roman script correctly gives the name as Kumāra Bīrarasa. Thus the suggestion that he had another name Harabīra is not correct.



In the Chōḷa house, the last days of Kulōttunga III brought bad days for the country. The new Pāṇḍya neighbour Māra-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya who had suffered defeat a number of times at the hands of the Chōḷa king was bent upon taking revenge when he came to power and he succeeded in his bid. He led an invasion into the Chōḷa territory in 1216-17 A.D. and plundered that country, inflicting a heavy defeat on Kulōttunga. The Chōḷa could not resist the onslaught and was forced to accept the humiliating position of virtual subordination to the Pāṇḍyas. It is at this time that the Chōḷa turned for help to the Hoysala, the only other power who he thought could assist him and rightly so. On the Hoysala throne then was Ballāḷa whose reign was drawing to an end. But he did not let go the chance of raising his own prestige in the eyes of the Chōḷas and other Southern kingdoms. Moreover, this provided him an opportunity to extend his influence in the South. So he readily responded to the call of the Chōḷa and both the families appear to have entered into matrimonial alliance also. Ballāḷa could not himself proceed to the Chōḷa's help, preoccupied as he was in his affairs with the Sēūṇa. So he sent his son Narasiṃha II, whose intervention enabled the Chōḷa to regain his kingdom, though not absolute independence. Ballāḷa earned the new title Chōḷa-rāya-pratisthāpanā-chārya (the restorer of the Chōḷa kingdom) and Pāṇḍyagaja-kēsari (the lion to the elephant - the Pāṇḍya king).

78 Ibid., Hl.55. Here is another instance of discrepancy between the texts in Kannada and Roman scripts. Kannada text gives the date wrongly as Śaka 1179 while the Roman one reads correctly as 1169.

As events show, the successor of Kulōttunga had also to depend upon the Hoysala king for assistance. Rājarāja III who now came to the throne was a weak king; but <sup>even then</sup> ~~nevertheless~~ he did not refrain from being hostile to the Pāṇḍya, attempting in vain to re-establish the Chōla supremacy. This naturally enraged the Pāṇḍya, who had been good enough to bestow the kingdom on Rājarāja's father. As a result, the Pāṇḍya invaded the Chōla kingdom once again and Rājarāja had to flee from the capital, for shelter, to the Hoysala king. But an ally of the Pāṇḍya, the Kādava Kōpperunjinga followed him and took him prisoner. Narasimha had thus to rush again to the help of the unfortunate Chōla king and with the assistance of <sup>79</sup> his brave generals, he reinstated Rājarāja on the Chōla throne. This interference with the affairs of the Chōla kingdom was not without advantage to the Hoysala. It not only got for him recognition as a big power but brought territorial benefit also; in about 1226 A.D., his young son Sōmēśvara was placed in charge of a part of the Chōla territory, with his headquarters at Kaṇṇanūr. References to various Hoysala officers in the Chōla records testify to the Hoysala influence in that country.

When Narasimha was busy in the Chōla country, Singhana was trying successfully to consolidate his power in the northern part of the former's kingdom. He stationed himself at Banavāsi during this period, viz. the period of Narasimha's absence from the capital, and came into possession of the whole of Banavāsi, though in the Bela-

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79 See K.A.N. Sastri: The Cōlas, II Edn., pp.393 ff.

gutti area he had to meet with some opposition from the Sinda side.

But Narasimha was not in a mood to easily allow the Sēūna's encroachment of his territory. Soon after his return from the South he engaged himself in wars with the usurper's army. His inscriptions show that more than one battle was fought between his army and that of the Sēūna. The first of such battles was fought some time in 1223 A.D.,<sup>80</sup> for an inscription of 1224 A.D. January graphically describes the fight in which two generals of the Sēūna army lost their lives. The same incident is referred to in two other inscriptions one of which belongs to the period of Narasimha but is not dated. The other belongs to the reign of his grandson Narasimha III. The former states that the battle was fought when the Hoysala king was on the northern expedition and that the river Tungabhadra was filled in by the blood of the enemies and the two generals Vikrama<sup>81</sup> and Pāvusa died in the fight. The latter says that the Hoysala's sword soiled by the heads of Vikrama and Pāvusa was cleaned in the<sup>82</sup> hot blood of the Makara king.

The second battle took place sometime after 1223 A.D. and before 1228 A.D. In this battle, Amrita or Amita-dandanāyaka, a general of Narasimha took a leading part. He figures in an inscription<sup>83</sup> of March 1223 A.D. but that record does not speak of his fight with the Sēūnas. But a record of September 1228 A.D. describes<sup>84</sup> the battle he fought with them at Nēralige. So naturally the

80 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.25.

81 Ibid., Vol.V, Hn 84.

82 Ibid., Bl 74.

83 Ep. Carn., vol.V, Cn 197

84 A.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.347.

battle must have taken place in the intervening period. Nēralige, the scene of battle, is probably the same as the present day village of that name in Shimoga District. Still another battle was fought some time later, as can be gathered from a Hoysala record of 1235<sup>85</sup> A.D. The Hoysala general who met the Sēūna army this time was Harihara. This war must have been over by 1231 A.D. for in that<sup>86</sup> year Narasimha was obliged to go to the Chōla country again. Or else it follows that Harihara came into conflict with the Sēūna in the absence of Narasimha.

But these fights were in no way advantageous to Narasimha. He could not regain the territory that was lost to the Sēūna and the province of Banavāsi remained under the latter's control and the Hoysala had to satisfy himself with the territory south of the Tunga bhadra. This loss of his was compensated as though, with the acquisition of a portion of the Chōla land which was being governed by his son.

With the death of Narasimha, there was a change in the political outlook of the next Hoysala king. Greater emphasis was laid on relations with the Chōla country, than on the conditions in the north. Narasimha may be described as practically the last ruler to have real concern over the northern portion of the territory, which was now occupied by the Sēūna. He fought fierce battles to retrieve the lost land but his struggle did not bear the desired fruit. His pre-occupation in the affairs of the Chōlas was an important reason for this set back and his frequent absence from the

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85 Ep.Carn., Vol.III, Md 125.

86 Coelho: op.cit., p.176.

capital gave the Sēūna a splendid opportunity to strengthen himself in the area. This ~~very reason~~ <sup>the reason</sup> is also ~~accountable~~ for the failure of his son Sōmēśvara in similar efforts. In fact Sōmēśvara, both politically and emotionally, was more attached to the Chōla country than to his own. From his very childhood he was brought up in the Tamil country and as early as in 1226 A.D. during the life time of his father, he was made the governor of a part of it. Nevertheless he did not altogether give up the efforts to regain the territory from the Sēūna. <sup>87</sup> an inscription of 1248 A.D. gives him the title Sēūn-ōrbhīpāla-bal-ārṇya-dāvānala indicating thereby that he had a clash with the Sēūna army, most probably during the last days of Singhana; for it was only <sup>a</sup> few days before this date that the latter's grandson Kannara had come to throne and it is unlikely that he came into conflict with the Hoysala so early as that, though <sup>of</sup> ~~sure~~ <sup>course</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>88</sup> he had to face him soon after.

#### Subduing the Hahaya Chiefs:

Meanwhile, Singhana was able to extend his sway eastwards also. During the reigns of his predecessors, the Sēūna influence was restricted to parts of Raichur District, mainly Lingsugur taluk.

<sup>87</sup> Ep.Carn., Vol.V, Ag 12.

<sup>88</sup> An inscription at Pandharpur (A.R.S.I.E., 1940-41, B.K.No.91) belonging to Sōmēśvara <sup>†</sup> led some scholars <sup>†</sup> to think that he led his army up to that place defeating Singhana (Coelho, op.cit., pp.193-94). But such a surmise has no basis. The Sēūna rule by now was firmly established below the Tungabhadra and it was impossible for Sōmēśvara to penetrate as far north as Pandharpur. The record indeed refers to a pilgrimage to that place and not to a military expedition. See <sup>†</sup> Derret, op.cit., p.228.

The adjacent area was being governed by the Haihaya chiefs of Morāṭa and they had not submitted to the Sēūna rule. But they had to forego their independence when Singhana came to power. Mallidēva II of this family, ~~the~~ son of Mallidēva I, who had challenged the authority of Bhīllama V, submitted to the rule of Singhana and became his trust-<sup>89</sup> ed feudatory. Two inscriptions from Kawtāl in Manvi taluk of this District describe him as the mahāmandalsēvara of Singhana. Further, <sup>90</sup> inscriptions with dates from 1202 A.D. onwards found in Kurnool <sup>91</sup> and Anantapur Districts, show that Singhana's rule extended to these Districts also.

#### War with the Kākatīyas:

Some inscriptions of Singhana ascribe him the title Telūṅga-rāya-sthāpanāchārya, Telūṅgarāya-sthiti-Krishna and the like, while some others just credit him with victory over the Telūṅga or the Andhra king, i.e. the Kākatīya. But these titles have no particular significance so far as Singhana is concerned, for the reinstatement of the Kākatīya king was an act done by Singhana's father Jaitugi, as has already been seen. Nevertheless Singhana had to fight with the Kākatīya king Ganapati. It is interesting to note that the Kākatīya records also do not lag behind in boasting their victory <sup>92</sup> over the Sēūna. A record of 1231 A.D. belonging to Ganapati claims victory for him over Sēvana, i.e. the Sēūna king Singhana. Another

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89 A.R.I.E., 1957-58, Nos. B 379.80.

90 See S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.363.

91 See A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.B 15.

92 Ep.Ind., Vol.III, pp.84 ff.

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 inscription of 1249 A.D. states that Singhana was terrified at the rise of Ganapati. But these claims apparently are merely conventional. An inscription of 1250 A.D. <sup>94</sup> found in Elēs'varam in Dēvarakonda taluk of Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh, records the grant of a village Garamjara 'for the merit of Simhana' by an officer of his. Though the inscription is dated three years later than the last date of Singhana, Simhana referred to here is no doubt Sēūna Singhana and the inscription evidently shows the influence of the Sēūna as far as Elēs'varam. It is interesting to note that in the <sup>95</sup> same place is found another inscription bearing the same date but belonging to Ganapati. It records a grant of another village for the merit of Ganapati. Such a circumstance indicates the uncertainty of the situation and that the fights were not decisive on one side or the other. It is also apparent that the existence of an inscription of Singhana in Elēs'varam does not point to his victory in that area or to his rule there. An officer of his who might have camped there in course of a campaign, may have thought of doing a meritorious deed in the name of his ~~late~~ master.

A Telugu Kāvya named Siddhēsvara-charitam on the other hand purports to say that Ganapati killed the Yādava (i.e. the Sēūna) king and the next Sēūna came <sup>to a</sup> ~~into~~ compromise with him by offering him his daughter Rudramadevi <sup>in marriage.</sup> ~~for his queen. But this statement~~ <sup>96</sup> The commentator of Pratāparudra-vasōbhūshana also names the wife of

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93 Ind.Ant., Vol.XXI, pp.197 ff.

94 A.R.I.E., 1954-55, No. B 143.

95 Ibid., No. B 138.

96 Ed. K. Lakshmiranjanam, p. 113

Ganapati as Rudrāmbā. But this statement is certainly not true to facts. The first part of the statement of Siddhēśvaracharitam viz., the death of the Sēūna king at the hands of Ganapati seems to be an exaggeration. The Sēūna contemporaries of Ganapati were Jaitugi and his son Singhana and the latter's grandson Kannara. If the statement of the kāvya is to be believed, it will have to be said that the person killed by Ganapati was Jaitugi and the latter's son Singhana offered his daughter to him. But this does not seem to be the case. Actually, as has been shown above, Jaitugi was the person who captured Ganapati and later on reinstated him on the Kākatīya throne and this event took place during the last days of Jaitugi. It is rather improbable that Ganapati soon rose against Jaitugi and was able to kill him. Moreover, no princess named Rudrāmbā is known in the Sēūna family. On the other hand, it is well known that Ganapati had a daughter by that name and she succeeded him to the Kākatīya throne.

Trying to explain this discrepancy<sup>e a</sup>, the editor of the kāvya suggested the possibility of the existence of a Rudrāmbā as the queen of Ganapati in addition to the famous daughter of that name. In support of this surmise, the learned editor cites the evidence of existence of a Sēūna family serving under the Kākatīyas and remarks that they (i.e. the latter Sēūnas) 'might have come to the country as part of the retinue of the Marāṭhā princess married by Ganapati-<sup>98</sup>dēva.' But this surmise seems farfetched on the very face of it.

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97 Ed. Trivedi, p. 97

98 Op Cit., Intd., p IV



The existence of a collateral branch of the Sēūna does not show that they came to the Āndhra country as 'part of the retinue'. In fact there was another collateral branch in Sēūna territory itself.<sup>99</sup> Further, it is rather against the common practice to have the same names <sup>for</sup> both mother and daughter. Unless more conclusive evidence is brought forth it will have to be <sup>maintained</sup> ~~assumed~~ that the mistake occurred on the part of the commentator of the Pratāparudra-yaśōbhūṣaṇa was copied by the author of the above mentioned kāvya, both of which are not contemporary works.<sup>99A</sup>

#### Wars with the Gūrjaras:

When Singhana was busy stabilising his power in the south, his general Khōlēśvara was engaged in a battle with the Gūrjaras. In the latter house, though the ruling king then was Bhīma II, the reins of the kingdom were actually in the hands of his generals, the Vāghēlā chiefs Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala.

The Ambe inscription of Singhana ~~of that date~~ states that Khōlēśvara pushed the Gūrjara army to the other bank of Narmadā.<sup>100</sup> Another inscription<sup>101</sup> from the same place further adds that after putting down the lord of Bharukachchha, he <sup>e</sup>rected the pillar of victory on the shores of the ocean.<sup>102</sup> Kīrtikaumudī also gives a graphic description of the invasion of Gujarāt by Singhana's army and both these <sup>narrations</sup> appear to <sup>refer to</sup> ~~be~~ one and the same <sup>event</sup>. According to

99 See Appendix I (i). 99A. See pp 468-69 below

100 S.M.H.D., Vol.I, pp.62, lines 18 ff.

101 Ibid., p.74, lines 32-33.

102 Canto V, verses 42 ff.

the latter work, the Sēūnas took the offensive and invaded the Gūrjara country which was then smiling with plenty. The news of <sup>the Sēūna</sup> ~~the~~ march created terror among the people of Gujārāt. But Lavanaprasāda did not loose heart. He proceeded to meet the enemy who by then had reached the river Tapti. Lavanaprasāda moved up<sup>to</sup> the river Mahī. The Sēūna army soon crossed <sup>the</sup> Narmadā and over<sup>ran</sup> Bharukachchha, i.e. Broach. Sōmēśvara is vague as to what happened next but it appears that Lavanaprasāda could not face the enemy though Sōmēśvara says that the Gūrjara 'did not consider him (i.e. the Sēūna king) unconquerable'. He further adds that the Yādavas <sup>W</sup> (i.e. the Sēūnas) did not proceed further for 'the deer do not felle the path of the lion even when it had vacated it'. Apparently Lavanaprasāda, realising his inability to face the enemy, was forced to make peace with him. The unexpected danger in another corner of <sup>103</sup> the kingdom in the form of the rebellion of the Marwar kings must have forced him to enter into a treaty with Siṅghana by which, for some time <sup>at least</sup>, he could be free from trouble from the southern <sup>104</sup> side. This treaty which has come to us provides with an interesting example of diplomacy in those days. The terms of agreement in this transaction are put down in the document thus:

"On this Monday the Vaisākha 'su.15 of Samvat 1298, in the victorious camp a treaty has been entered <sup>into</sup> between Mahārājādhirāja Siṅghanadēva and Mahāmandalēśvara Lāvaṇyaprasāda. Siṅhanadēva and mahāmandalēśvara Lāvaṇyaprasāda should each confine to his own country according to former usage. Neither should encroach upon the

103 Ibid., Canto IV, Verse 55.

104 Lōkhapaddhati, p.52.

land of the other. When any powerful enemy attacks either of them both should lead an army against him. When the enemy general captures either, then the other should release him with the help of the army. If any noble man flees from one country into the territory of the other, no asylum should be given to him."

The date of the treaty as noted above is V.S.1288, i.e. 1231 A.D. But the Ambe inscription referring to the event is dated 1228 A.D. and the battle must have been fought before that. In fact it must have been over much earlier than 1228 A.D. because the second invasion led by Singhana, as will be seen below, was also over by 1229 A.D.

The date of the treaty therefore does not point to the date on which <sup>the treaty actually</sup> ~~it~~ was entered into. It is to be noted in this connection that most of the documents <sup>given as</sup> ~~illustrated~~ <sup>ions</sup> in Lāṭhāpaddhati are dated in this year only, i.e. V.S.1288 and as such it only goes to show, <sup>that,</sup> <sup>105</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>it is</sup> ~~opined by Majumdar,~~ <sup>the</sup> the date of the compilation of the work and not of the documents concerned.

Whatever might be the reason for the treaty, Singhana <sup>did</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>feel</sup> not obliged to stick to its terms and once again the Sūna army marched towards Gujarāt, and this time led by Singhana himself. In this invasion Singhana was actively helped by the Lāṭa chief Śankha. This indeed was a hard time <sup>for</sup> ~~to~~ the Gūrjara country. It was surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Marwar kings were turning hostile and the Lāṭa chief had joined the enemy camp. Dēvapāla also

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chose the same time to attack it, and added to it a Muslim king also thought of raiding. A catastrophe <sup>would</sup> have indeed befallen the Gūrjara country, had it not been for the diplomacy of the resourceful ministers Tējapāla and Vastupāla. Knowing fully well that their army could not withstand the onslaught <sup>a h</sup> of the enemies on all sides Vastupāla cleverly spread a net of spies and created a split in <sup>the</sup> ranks of the allies, viz., Śaṅkha and Singhana and saw to it that the latter disbelieved Śaṅkha who had to flee away. This forms the subject-matter of the play Hammira-mada-mardana.

According to this play Singhana with the alliance of Lāṭa chief Śaṅkha thought of invading Gūrjara and on his way ~~had~~ camped on the banks of the Tapti. Learning of this, and apprehending the impending danger, Vastupāla's spies forged <sup>a</sup> letter purported to have been written by Paramāra Dēvapāla to Śaṅkha and arranged <sup>it</sup> to fall into the hands of Singhana. The letter, among other things, reminded Śaṅkha that his father had been killed by the Sēūpa army and said that he could take revenge of the same by attacking Singhana when he entered Gujarāt, at which time the Paramāra king also would attack him (i.e. Singhana). Singhana grew suspicious of Śaṅkha's activities and the latter out of fear had to leave his camp. <sup>106</sup> The date of this event cannot be fixed with precision. <sup>107</sup> <sup>As</sup> Manuscript of Hammira mada-mardana is dated in V.S.1286 i.e. 1229 A.D. The invasion therefore is to be placed some time before this date.

Thus both the invasions on Gujarat turned out to be of

106 Act II.

107 Ibid, Introduction p.1.

little material benefit to Siṅghana. So he sent his general once again <sup>against</sup> ~~that~~ that country which resulted in the death of the latter. The Sēūna army was this time led by Rāma, the son of Khōlēśvara. In the fierce battle that ensued between him and the Gūrjara army on the bank of the Narmadā, Rāma lost his life.

Another inscription from Ambe giving <sup>the</sup> details is dated in Śaka 1162, i.e. 1240 A.D. <sup>108</sup> The battle must have been fought slightly earlier than this date. It is likely that Vīśaladēva, who <sup>109</sup> was then in Bharukachchha, faced Rāma. Ray surmises that this <sup>110</sup> invasion is identical with the one narrated in ~~Rāmāīra-mada-mardana~~. But this is not correct. The latter work indicates that Siṅghana did not proceed further than the Tapti while Rāma is stated to have fought on the banks of the Narmadā. Obviously Rāma's invasion is a different one.

#### Attack on the Sēūna territory:

A solitary specimen document of <sup>the sale of</sup> ~~selling~~ a slave girl given <sup>111</sup> in Lākhapaddhati also giving V.S.1288 as its date, hints at an attack by Viradhavala, on the Sēūna territory. This document states that the slave to be so sold was a sixteen year old girl brought from Maharashtra, in the course of an expedition led by ~~mahāmāda-~~ <sup>lāsvara</sup> ~~Rāma~~ Viradhavala. The latter is apparently the Vāghelā

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108 Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol.III, pp.85 ff.

109 According to a manuscript of V.S.1295. See Majumdar, op.cit p.173.

110 <sup>DHN 2,</sup> pp. 1031-32.

111 Page 45.

chief of that name who was <sup>at</sup> the helm of the affairs of Gujarāt when the Sēūṇa army ~~was~~ <sup>ed</sup> invading that country. Now the Mahārāshtra referred to is no doubt the northern part of the Sēūṇa country. If the historicity of the document is to be taken for granted then it will follow that Vīradhavalā attacked the northern frontiers of the Sēūṇa country, probably taking an opportunity of the Siṅghaṇa's occupation in other directions. The date of the document does not help us in deciding the date of this attack. It may be presumed that it was led when Siṅghaṇa was busy in the South. Majumdar on the other hand thinks that it was timed when Siṅghaṇa was invading Gujarāt. In his own words, 'while Lavaṇaprasāda faced Siṅghaṇa with a small army he sent his son Vīradhavalā with another army to ravage the territory of Yādavas.' <sup>112</sup> But this surmise does not seem to be correct. Kīrtikāumudī tells us that when Siṅghaṇa attacked Gujarāt, both Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā faced the enemy and that, when, at the same time, the kings of Mārwar rebelled both father and son tried to put them down. <sup>113</sup> The Vasantavilāsa also states that Vīradhavalā proceeded to fight with the Mārwar kings. <sup>114</sup> Such a situation precludes the possibility of Vīradhavalā raiding the Sēūṇa territory when the latter was camping in Gujarāt.

Clash with the Paramāra Again:

It was stated above that in order to break the alliance

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112 Op.cit., p.152.

113 V, verse 24.

114 V, verse 15.

of Śankha and Singhana the spies of Vastupāla forged a letter to Śankha from Paramāra Dēvapāla in which the latter instigated Śankha to attack Singhana. The Hammira-mada-mardana here adds that Singhana believing <sup>contents</sup> in the ~~story~~ of the letter, became furious with the Paramāra king and proceeded against him. <sup>115</sup> But no further details about this invasion are known.

#### Other Minor Conquests:

Inscriptions of Singhana as well as of his successors ascribe a number of conquests to him as also to his generals. Indeed, <sup>a</sup> ~~some~~ number of records give a conventional list of countries supposed to have been so conquered such as Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Nēpāla, Sindhu etc. ~~Nevertheless~~ They also give the names of countries or king whom Singhana or his officers actually fought. Prominent among <sup>these</sup> ~~such~~ are the following.

#### Ābhira Lakshmidēva:

The Ambe inscription calls this chief as Bhambhāgiriśvara indicating thereby that his headquarters <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ at Bhambhāgiri. This victory is referred to by Hāmādrī <sup>115</sup> and <sup>in</sup> some <sup>117</sup> inscriptions. One record of Singhana <sup>118</sup> and two of Rāmachandra <sup>119</sup> refer to the conquest of this fort. This place has been identified with Bhāmēr in the <sup>120</sup> Dhulia District.

115 Act II, p.18.

116 Op.cit., verse 44.

117 See e.g. Tilvalli Inscription (K.S.P.P., Vol.28, pp.1 ff and Uddare inscription (M.A.R., 1929, p.145).

118 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.57.

119 Paithan plates (Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, <sup>314 ff</sup> pp.1); Purushottampuri Plates (Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, pp.209 ff).

Varāṭa chief Kakkalla and Jājalladēva:

The Tilivalli and Uddare<sup>h</sup> epigraphs and the Paithan and Purushōttampuri plates refer to another chief Kakkalla of Varāṭa as being subdued by Siṅghana. Varāṭa is the same as Vardālaṭa or the present Vidarbha, roughly comprising of the northern Districts of Maharashtra.<sup>121</sup> Apparently Kakkalla was a local chief in the Vidarbha area.

Jājalladēva is another adversary mentioned in the Tilivalli and Uddare<sup>h</sup> records.<sup>122</sup> Though the identity of this chief cannot be established it may be noted that Bhandarkar suggested that he belonged to the "eastern branch of the Chēdi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chhattisgarh".<sup>123</sup> Mirashi adds that he may be the successor of Pratāpamalla (of the Kalachuris of Ratnapur).<sup>124</sup>

Bhōja of Chāhanda, Hemnādi And Nāgana:

The two Ambe inscriptions mention these chiefs as being vanquished by Khōlēsvara. The former is styled Chāhand-ādhisvara. Chāhanda is the modern Chāndā, the headquarters of the Chanda District in Maharashtra. Though he is described as Paramāra, he cannot

? 120 Ibid., p.203.

121 Bhandarkar opined that Kakkalla belonged to the Kalachuri family of Tripura (Op.cit., p.151) while Mirashi located Varāṭa 'somewhere in South India, probably to the north of Mysore State' (Ep.Ind., Vol.XXV, p.202).

122 Hemadri calls him Jājalladēva (op.cit., verse 43).

? 123 Op.cit., p.151.

124 C.I.I., Vol.IV, Part I, (p. ~~xxx~~ <sup>Intd.</sup> C x x x).



be said to have belonged to the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, obviously because there was no king of that name in that dynasty, in that period. He obviously belonged to a minor Paramāra family, and the existence of such family in the area is indicated by the discovery of an inscription at Bhandak near Chanda.<sup>125</sup> Hēmādri is stated to have belonged to Bānakhēṭa.<sup>126</sup>

An ~~same~~ inscription from Kuppātūr, mentions<sup>5</sup> Dēvanagāve as situated in Vānakhēḍa which seems to be the same as Bānakhēṭa. Dēvanagāve perhaps is the same as Dēvanagār in the Sindgi taluk of Bijapur District. Vānakhēḍa or Bānakhēṭa seems to be the area round about this place.<sup>127</sup>

The chief Nāgapa also cannot be identified, though his name points out to a southern district as his home. The record states that Nāgapa was killed and the king (avanipa, probably his overlord)<sup>128</sup> was rendered homeless.

A number of inscriptions vaguely refer to Singhapa's vanquishing the Turushka or the Muslim king who at places is also

<sup>125</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, p. 203.

<sup>126</sup> Khare read the name as Hēmādi. But the reading is Hēmādri. Bānakhēṭiya has been read by him as Bānatvēṭiya. Further his identification of Hēmādi with Singhapa's subordinate Hēmādi (= ) and the surmise that the latter turned traitor so that Khōlēśvara subdued him (S. M. H. D., Vol. I, p. 59) have no basis.

<sup>127</sup> Rice places Vānakhēḍa in Saṃāstra (Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, introduction p. 11).

<sup>128</sup> Here again Khare's reading is faulty. The actual reading is Chhēditam yāna sahasā Nāgapaaya śirā rapā || Kṛitōpahritya śar-

called Hammīra. But it is known that Singhana did not directly come into clash with any Muslim king, since the latter had not yet moved down southwards. The only notable Muslim king who was the contemporary of Singhana was Sultan Iltutmish of Delhi, but he plundered only Mālava and did not go further. The first Muslim invasion of the Deccan took place only in 1296 A.D. This epithet therefore will have to be explained as just an exaggeration.

#### Feudatories:

It can be seen from the <sup>above account</sup> ~~previous~~ pages that during his lifetime Singhana established his rule over almost the whole of the area formerly occupied by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. It has also been seen that in doing so he had to put down many chiefs who were reluctant to accept his suzerainty. In consonance with the existing practice, he allowed them to rule their principalities as his subordinates. Some territories however were annexed to his kingdom and the governors appointed by him administered these territories.

#### The Kadambas of Hāṅgal:

Kāvadēva (1180-1217 A.D.) was practically the last ruler worth the name of the Hāṅgal branch of the Kadambas. As seen above in about 1215 A.D. Singhana conquered Banavāsī 12000 and appointed <sup>his</sup> ~~his~~

vasvaṃ ch-āvanīpō vanīpakah whereas Khare reads kshatōpahritya sarvasvaṃ chāvanīśō cha Nāyakah. Further he presumed Nāyaka to be <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ king.

general to look after the administration of that province. Though the successors of Kāvadēva do call themselves Kādamba-chakravartī the title was not more indicative of their independent status. The province of Banavāsi continued to be under the Sēūna generals.

#### The Kadambas of Goa:

The fate of the house of the Kadambas of Goa was not very different. As has been observed above, Jayakēśi III was subdued by Singhapa in about 1206 A.D. From an inscription of 1220 A.D. we learn that the province of Halsige<sup>129</sup> along with that of Banavāsi 12000 was included in the Sēūna kingdom. The Malasige province, it may be noted, was part of the territory of the Kadambas of Goa. As seen earlier, after Jayakēśin, his son Sōvidēva tried to oppose Singhapa's rule in vain. His successors Shashthadēva III and Kānadēva governed the territory, apparently as subordinates.

#### The Raṭṭas of Saundatti:

We have seen above that the Raṭṭas were defeated by about 1213 A.D., by Singhapa's general Bīchapa to whom the feat is ascribed in the Haralhalli inscription of 1238-39 A.D. The contemporary chiefs of this family continued to rule over this principality, apparently as subordinates, and when after Lakshmidēva II, who probably had no issues, the Raṭṭa territory became part of the Sēūna kingdom.

#### The Śilāhāras:

Of the Śilāhāras of the Thānā family, Kēśirāja III was the

contemporary of Singhana. Though not much is known about their relationship, <sup>with Singhana.</sup> it is possible that Singhana <sup>vanquished them as well.</sup> ~~put down~~ <sup>van</sup> Sēma-dēva, the only other member of the family, continued on the hereditary throne till he was killed by Singhana's grandson Mahādēva, which resulted in the extinction of the Śilāhāra power.

Bhōja II, the last member of the Śilāhāra family of Karāḍ, was ~~badly~~ routed in battle and probably lost his life. His son Gaṇḍārāditya could not succeed and the principality formed a part of the Sēūna territory.

On the other hand, the Guttas of Gattavolal <sup>130</sup> the Sindas of Erambarage, the Kadambas of Nūrubāḍa and of Karadkal <sup>130</sup> and the <sup>130</sup> Haihayas of Moraṭa and Araḷu were some feudatory chiefs who retained their individual status owing allegiance to the Sēūnas.

Sindas of Erambarage:

Of the family of the Sindas of Erambarage or Yelbarga, in Raichur District, Vikramāditya was the feudatory of Bhīllana V and continued in that position under Singhana also. <sup>131</sup> After this chief, who perhaps died without issue, the Sinda territory became a part of the Sēūna kingdom and we see it being governed by Vāsudēva-<sup>132</sup> nāyaka, an official of Singhana in 1233 A.D.

Officials:

One of the most prominent generals of Singhana who gener-

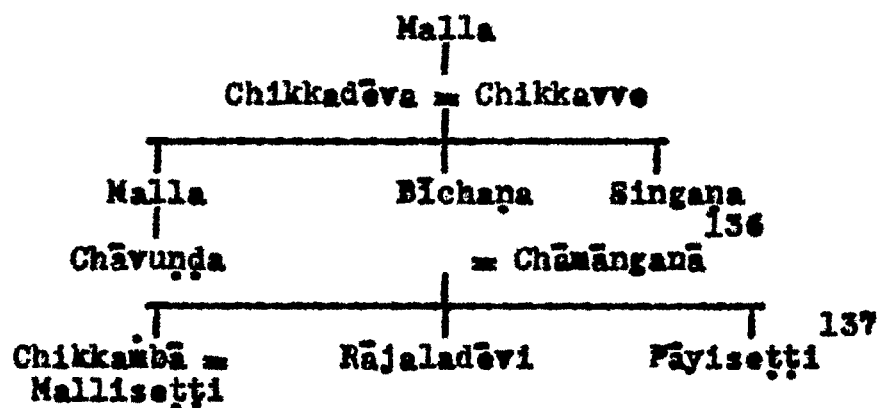
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130 See Appendix II.

131 A.R.E.I.E., 1927-28, B.K.No.36.

132 Ibid., 1926-27, B.K.No.20 .

ally associated <sup>themselves</sup> ~~himself~~ with the southern conquests was Bichiseti  
or Bichapa, also called Bichārāja. <sup>from</sup> An inscription of 1238 A.D. <sup>133</sup>  
we learn that he was an officer in charge of taxes, for, herein he  
is called Eradum-nāda-sunkādhikāri. The Haralhalli inscription  
of 1237-38 A.D. credits him with victory over the Raṭṭa, the Keṇ-  
kana, the Kadaṃba, Gutta and Pāṇḍya kings. He took part in the  
wars with the Hoysaḷas also and an inscription from Kalkēri, dated <sup>134</sup>  
1244-45 A.D., represents him as having laid bare Dōrasamudra.  
The undated Haralhalli inscription <sup>135</sup> which gives the genealogy  
of Bichapa tells us that his family hailed from Bommakūr in Gon-  
kanāḍu. From this and other inscriptions mentioning him, his gen-  
ealogy can be shown as follows:



By faith Bicha was a Jaina as can be seen from the Lakshme'svara

133 A.R.I.E., 1952-53, No.B 81, bottom portion. This inscription is separate from the one engraved just above this.

134 A.B.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.53.

135 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.57.

136 Fleet (I.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XV, p.387, text line 35) reads  
this name as Amānganā.

137 Bichana had no sons, and he adopted for his son Payiseṭṭi, who was the son of Nākiseṭṭi, as the Kalkeri inscriptions put it:

inscription which calls him jaina-jina-chūdamaṇi and which states that his daughter Rājāladēvi who is also described as jīnāndra-chandra-pada-padma-mahābrata, renovated the Vijaya-jinālaya at Purikara-nagara, i.e. Lakshmēśvar, at the instance of her preceptor Padmasēna-muni. But his liberal outlook towards other religions is authenticated by the Haralhalli plates which refer to the installation of Śiva-līṅga and to grants to the temples made by Bīchana.

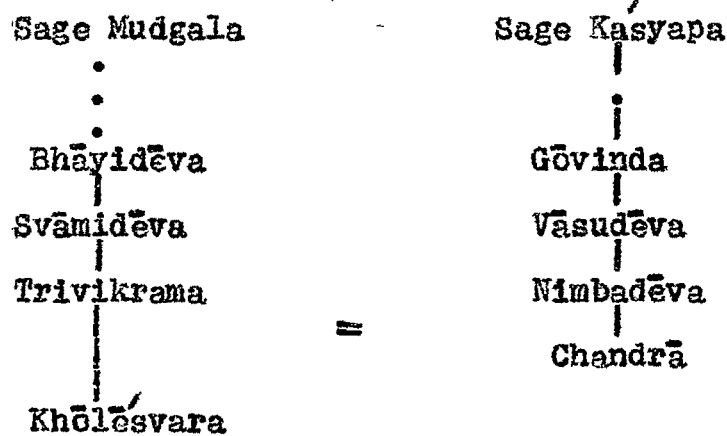
Bīchana belonged to the merchant-class and had the title rājarēshthi.

Bīchana's son-in-law Malliseṭṭi was also serving under the Sēūnas. He governed the Belvoḷa district which was entrusted to him by his father-in-law.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Lakshmīpāla or Lakshmīdēva also called Lakshmīpālādēva was another important general in the Sēūna army. The Mankani inscription referred to earlier seems to associate him with Singhana's invasion of the territory of the Kadamba king of Goa. Herein he is called Lakhmeyanāyaka. That he str<sup>ove</sup>gged hard to promote the cause of the Sēūna kingdom is clear from the fact that he is styled as Yādavarāiṣa-samuddharana (the upholder of the Yādava, i.e. the Sēūna kingdom) and the right arm of Singhana (śevuparāya-antaganya-punyōdayan-anisida Pāvyanaṁ padadu Nākiṣeṭṭi rāvadanda-nāyaka-Bīchan-udara-athavyana māḍalaḍam māgam baḍadante rāja-arēshthi paṭṭamaṁ kattiḍam ||

<sup>139</sup>  
śrī-Singhanadēvara dakṣha-dakṣiṇa-bhūja-danda. In 1207 A.D.  
he was governing the district of Karaḍikal 300. He took part in  
the battle with the <sup>140</sup>Śilāhāra chief Bhōja. An inscription from  
Tilivalli designates him as hasti-sādhanika, i.e. the head of the  
elephant squad in the army. The latest date we have for this  
<sup>141</sup>general is 1245 A.D.

Like Bāichana and Lakṣmīdēva in the South, ~~in the north-~~  
~~ern expeditions~~ Khōlēśvara played a prominent role in the northern  
conquests of Singhana, as has been elaborated earlier. The Āmbe  
records associate him with the conquest of the Hoysalas also.  
Khōlēśvara's description that he was a pastmaster in the skill  
of establishing the King (firmly) (rāyasthāpana-kārya-kausala-vidhā-  
vāchārya svayam) indicates that he was responsible for the  
stabilisation of Sēūna rule in the northern Districts. These ins-  
criptions give the genealogy of the chief as follows from the  
father's as well as mother's side.



139 See A.R.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 437.

140 Venkataramayya (Ep.Ind., Vol.XXX, p.34, Note 1) tries to  
identify him with Lakṣmīdēva, the father of Jalhana, the author  
of Suktimuktāvali. But this appears to be doubtful.

s latest  
as 1237  
p. (cit.)

141 A.R.S.I.E., 1922-33, B.K.No.154. Venkataramayya thought

These inscriptions record a number of religious deeds such as the constructing of temples and agrahāras in places like Achalapura (modern Elichpur), Khollapura (i.e. modern Kolhapur), Vāranāsi in Vāradā<sup>to</sup>ṭa, i.e. Varhād or what is known as Vidarbha and in Āmrādēsa, i.e. near about Āmbē, the findspot of the records and on the bank of Vañjarā, i.e. Mañjarā. He also made grants of land to god Sakalēśvara apparently at Āmbē.

Knōlēśvara had a son named Rāma and <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ daughter <sup>named</sup> Lakshmī. It is seen above that Rāma led the Sēūṇa army against Vāghelā, Viśaladēva, but died in the fight. Lakshmī, the sister of Rāma, <sup>Rāma's</sup> took over the burden of administration after ~~his~~ <sup>the latter's</sup> death since ~~his~~ son was still an infant.

Ārya or Āriya Malliseṭṭi, the governor of Koṅkaṇa should be distinguished from Malla or Malliseṭṭi, the elder brother of Bīchana. An inscription from Raṭṭihallī <sup>142</sup> supplies the information that Ārya Malliseṭṭi was the son of Bamma and that his wife was <sup>143</sup> Rājave. The Lakshmēśvar records, one of them dated in 1228 A.D., and the others undated but belonging to the same period, state that he was the governor of Kaṇṇāṭa-maṇḍala then. He bore the title <sup>144</sup> Kaṅkaṇachakravartī. One other inscription from Raṭṭihallī <sup>144</sup> credits him with having snatched fourteen elephants from Narasimha and having conquered the city of Dōrasamudra. By 1235 A.D. he was

<sup>142</sup> A.R.I.E. 1951-52, No.B 92. On the impression this name looks like Bimma. Apparently this is a mistake for Bamma.

<sup>143</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, No.B 26.

<sup>144</sup> A.R.I.E. 1951-52, No.B 95.



placed in charge of the districts of Belvola, Puligere 300 and the province of Banavāsi 12000.<sup>145</sup> This is the latest date we have for Mallisetṭi. Mallisetṭi's son Rēva was also in the service of the Sūna government but he was not as prominent as his younger brother Honnabommisetṭi.

Honnabommisetṭi rose to eminence even during the time of his father. ~~He~~ As early as <sup>in</sup> 1224 A.D.<sup>146</sup> he was the right hand of Singhana (Singhanadēva-dakṣiṇabhuja-danda). He is also ascribed victory over Haive. This as well as other records of 1234 A.D. show that among other regions the district of Kāladi 96 was in his charge. This district, since it included Mantravādi in Bankāpur taluk, must have <sup>included</sup> ~~comprised~~ some area in the latter taluk. In 1228-29 A.D. he was governing Konkana. The title Konkana-chakra-<sup>147</sup>varti borne by his father is applied to him also. By 1232 A.D. he was placed in charge of the administration of the province of Banavāsi and it is then that the Sinda chief Kēsavadēva attacked him <sup>but</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~ultimately~~ met with defeat.<sup>148</sup> Since, as stated above, the inscription of 1235 A.D. shows his father Mallisetṭi as governing Banavāsi along with Belvola and Puligere, it will have to be presumed that Honnabommisetṭi was assisting his father in the administration of that province. Moreover, the inscription of 1232 A.D. states that he was in charge of the ~~mēlake~~<sup>!</sup> of Banavāsi-nādu.

145 Ibid., 1952-53, No.3 81.

146 A.R.S.I.E., 1944-45, B.K.No.5.

147 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.19.

148 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, H1.43.

149

Rattihalli inscription of 1238 A.D. states that Honnabomma burnt the fort of Kādamaghe, Koppala and Dōrasamudra. Kōdamaghe is Kōdamaggi in Hirekerur taluk which was included in the Banavāsi province and Koppala is Koppal in Raichur District and Dōrasamudra is the wellknown capital of the Hoysalas.

Honnabomisetṭi had two more brothers - Chāmunda and Achala, and the former is represented as donating jointly with Honnabomma, some grants to the mahājanas of Bērapaṭṭi, i.e. Bēhaṭṭi in Dharwar District. <sup>150</sup> Nothing is known about Achala. Honnabomma's wife was Kāmaladēvi and their son was named Guptamalla or Gunitayya. Possibly he had another son by the name Rēva. Honnabomma was a staunch Śaiva and the follower of the teachers of the Kālamukha sect. In one inscription he is called ādi-kaṇḍavātara <sup>151</sup> and in another maḥā-āvar-āṇḍagavya. <sup>152</sup> Records <sup>show that he made</sup> numerous grants for the temples and teachers of this sect.

Another chief holding the important post of Sarvādhikāri and Mahāpradhāna was Vankuvarāhuta, who is also called Vankadēva. <sup>153</sup> The earliest reference to him is found in an inscription of 1220 A.D. <sup>154</sup> Another inscription of 1222 A.D. represents him as administering the ~~affairs~~ <sup>155</sup> of the Banavāsi division. Still another inscription of 1231 A.D. <sup>155</sup> indicates that Nāgarakhanda district was under his

149 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.B 95.

150 Ibid., 1952-53, No.B 81.

151 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.No.275.

152 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.B 77.

153 A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.50.

154 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, H1 No.120.

155 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sb.No.275.

administrative control, while a record from Kōlūr states that he<sup>156</sup> was governing Belvola 300, Puligere 300 and Banavāsi 12000. Sometime after this date, the governorship of these divisions was transferred to Ārya Malliseṭṭi and his son Honnabommiseṭṭi, described above.

Epigraphs from Belgaum and Bijapur Districts introduce to us an woman administrator. This lady, Bhāgubāyi, by dint of her skill and capacity gained the confidence of the king himself and was called the paramaviśvāsī of the king. The earliest record for<sup>157</sup> her is found in Madbhāvi in Athani taluk of Belgaum District. This damaged record is dated in 1239 A.D. and from the preserved portion some information about her can be gathered which is fortunately corroborated by two other inscriptions from Bilūr in the<sup>158</sup> South Satara District. Both these records are dated in 1245 A.D. These and three other inscriptions from Bijapur Museum designate her as Sarvādhikāri and state that she was governing the three districts of Tardavāḍi, Heḍa and Kanāmbade.

The career of this versatile lady Bhāgubāyi which began sometime before March 1239 A.D., the date of the Madbhāvi inscription, ended sometime before January 1246 A.D.,<sup>which is</sup> the date of the Bilūr inscription, ~~one of~~ which states that by then she had breathed her last, and that in her honour her son Vēsugidēva and his

156 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 194.

157 A. R. I. E., 1953-54, No. B 185.

158 A. R. S. I. E., 1940-41, B. K. Nos. 97 and 98.

minister Kannuvapaṇḍita built some temples. The latest inscription for her which shows her in power is dated in December 1244<sup>159</sup> A.D. Bhāgubāyi's husband Dēvagaṇanāyaka was also in the service of the Sēūna government as a paṣāyita and their son Vēsugi, succeeded his mother's ~~place~~ <sup>160</sup> as the governor of the Tardavāḍi, Meḍa and Kanambade ~~the~~ divisions.

Māyidēva-paṇḍita was perhaps the first Sēūna governor of Banavāsi 12000. In June 1215 A.D., he is seen making some grants<sup>161</sup> at Purikarangara, i.e. Puligere or modern Lakshmēśvara while two others dated in 1215-16<sup>162</sup> and April 1216<sup>163</sup> represent him as the governor of Banavāsi-nāḍu. Still another inscription, the date of which is unfortunately lost, shows that he looked after the administration of Puligere 300 and Kelavāḍi 300, in addition to Banavāsi<sup>164</sup> 12000. These inscriptions and the one of 1217 A.D.<sup>165</sup> ascribe him the titles Mahāpradhāna, Sarvādhikāri, Mahā-paramaviśvāsi, daṇḍina-gōva and the like, all of which are indicative of the high position he enjoyed in the Sēūna court.

It has been noticed in the <sup>previous</sup> ~~anterior~~ chapter that a Māyidēva daṇḍanāyaka appears as one of the ministers of Bhīllama V. There is no difficulty in identifying him with Māyidēva-paṇḍita, the

159 A.P.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K. No.144.

160 Bīlūr inscription referred to above.

161 A.P.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.25.

162 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Hl.44.

163 Ibid., Hl.No.48.

164 A.P.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.53.

165 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.135.

Māyidēva  
minister of Siṅghana. ~~He~~ must have joined the service under Bhili-  
ama and continued to serve under the next king Jaitugi I, as can  
be seen from an inscription of the latter dated in 1194 A.D.<sup>166</sup>  
The earliest date for him is 1187 A.D. Though even during Bhiliama's  
regime, he was invested with the title mahāpradhāna, he was governing  
a small district of Mūvattarumbāda then. But when Siṅghana came  
to <sup>the</sup> throne, he placed him in charge of the newly conquered province  
of Banavāsi. Māyidēva continued in power later than 1217 A.D. and  
the successor to him to the governorship of that province was Vanku-  
varāhuta.

Sahadēva-danḍanātha, another prominent general of Siṅghana,  
makes his first appearance in an inscription<sup>167</sup> of Jaitugi, the pre-  
decessor of Siṅghana. This inscription, the date of which is lost,  
indicates that he was ~~then~~ in charge of the district of Tardavādi  
thousand. But, during Siṅghana's time his jurisdiction ~~had~~ extend-  
ed to the adjacent districts of Heḍa and Kaṇambāḍe.<sup>168</sup> He is asso-  
ciated with the conquests of Māḷava, Hoysala and Koṅkana kings.  
In 1234 A.D. the governorship of these districts was entrusted to  
one Tikkarāsa<sup>169</sup> who in all probability is the same as Tikkarasa,  
the cousin of Sahadēva.<sup>170</sup> In 1235 A.D. a Nāgarasa is found to be  
administering Kaṇambāḍe division. Sometime during the <sup>next</sup> few years,  
i.e., by 1239 A.D. all the three divisions were placed in charge of  
Bhāgubāyi.

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166 Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.69.

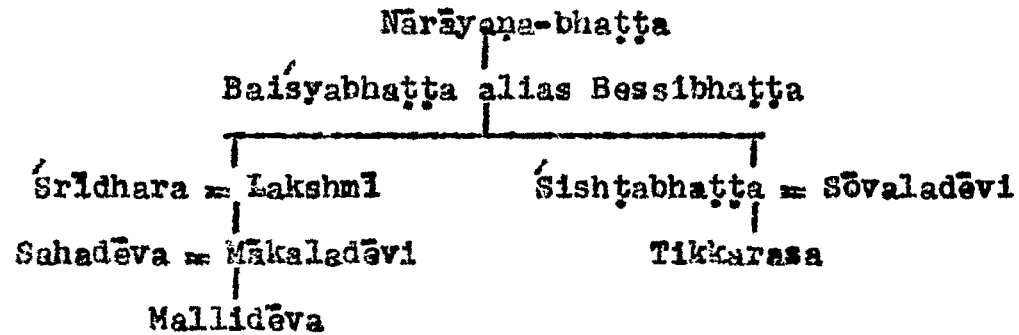
167 Ep.Ind., Vol.V, pp.29 ff.

168 A.R.S.I.E., 1927-28, B.K.No.264.

169 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.192.

170 See Ibid., 1927-28, B.K.No.264.

It is interesting to note that Sahadēva-daṇḍanāyaka belonged to a community known as the Sahavāsīs who claim to have come from Kāśmīra. The Maṅkaṇi inscription states that the <sup>home</sup> ~~native~~ land of his father was Kāśmīra and he belonged to the Shasvāsa-kula and Vāchāsya gōtra. This community is still existing today and is scattered here and there in Maharashtra and Northern Karnataka. A strange belief about them which apparently is a later concoction is that they belonged to the Harijan caste! It is clear from this inscription that they were <sup>originally</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>though</sup> now ~~became~~ they belong to the Vaishṇava ~~caste~~ <sup>faith</sup>. On the basis of inscriptions referred to above, Sahadēva's genealogy may be shown as below:



Among the officials of lesser importance mention may be made of the following: Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kuppadēvarasa or Kupparasa, governing some region in the present day Akkalakot area (1211, 1214 and 1217 A.D.); <sup>171</sup> Haradēva and Mahādēva, the two brothers mentioned <sup>172</sup> in a recently discovered inscription at Prakasha in Dhulia District; Janārdana who claims to have trained Siṅghaṇa in handling the ele- <sup>173</sup> phants and who was the grandfather of Jalhana, the author of

171 See Kr.Ins., Vol.II, Nos.33, 34 and 36 respectively.

172 Ep.Ind., Vol. XXXVI, pp 20 ff

173 Sūktimuktāvalī, Introductory verses 17-19.

Sūktimuktāvali; Dāmodara-danḍanāyaka (1200 A.D.); Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara<sup>174</sup>  
Vikramāditya whose wife was Siriyādēvi (1200 A.D.); Basavarasa-<sup>175</sup>  
nāyaka, governor of Sindavāḍi 1000 (1202 A.D.); Rāyamurāri Jan-<sup>176</sup>  
nugidēva and Bijjaladēva of the Kalachurya family (1204 A.D.);<sup>177</sup>  
Sōvidēva and Hemnāḍidēva of Nikkumbha family (1222 A.D.); mahā-<sup>178</sup>  
pradhāna Kapiladēva-danḍanāyaka governing Tardavāḍi-nāḍu (1208 A.D.)<sup>179</sup>  
Narasīnga-rāhuta governing Karadikal 300 (1210 A.D.); Vikrama-<sup>180</sup>  
pālarāja (1212 A.D.); mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jagatāpu-danḍidēva-chōla-  
mahārāja, son of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Madhurāntakadēvachola-mahārāja<sup>181</sup>  
governing from his headquarters at Hāmbuli (1215 A.D.); mahā-  
pradhāna, Sarvādhikāri Indapayyanāyaka governing Valavāḍi (1216  
A.D.);<sup>182</sup> Ekkalarasa, the governor of the division of Jidūvalige  
or Jidūḷige 70 (1216 A.D.); Sarvādhikāri Purushōttamanāyaka<sup>183</sup>  
and his brother Jōgadēva danḍanāyaka (1222-23 A.D.); Tailana in<sup>184</sup>  
Kolhapur area (1218-19 A.D.);<sup>185</sup> Jaitapāladēva-nāyaka (1225 A.D.);<sup>186</sup>  
Lakshmīdhara-panḍita styled as Sarvādhikāri Bahattara-niyōg-ādhipati<sup>187</sup>  
and anēka-dēśādhipati (1227 A.D.) Mahāpradhāna Sāraṅganāyaka<sup>188</sup>  
(1226 A.D.); Ballāla belonging to the Sēūna family and governor of

174 S.M.H.D., Vol.II, pp.56 ff.

175 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.ii, No.363.

176 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.44.

177 Ep.Ind., Vol.I, pp.333 ff.

178 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.75.

179 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, B.K.No.694.

180 S.M.H.D., Vol.I, p.52.

181 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.ii, No.365.

182 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, No.315.

183 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.398.

184 A.R.S.I.E., 1927-28, B.K.No.55 and Kr.Ins., Vol.I, pp.66 ff.

Māsavādi (1227 A.D.); <sup>189</sup> mahāpradhāna Vāsudēvanāyaka, governing  
Kisukāḍu 70 from Brambarage, i.e. Yelbarga in Raichur District and  
his official Vāmanadēva (1233 A.D. and 1238-39 A.D.); <sup>190</sup> parama-  
viśvāsi ~~Rāṣṭra~~ <sup>191</sup> Dōvayanāyaka (1244 A.D.); Mahāmandalēśvara  
Bonnidēvarasa belonging to a Śilāhāra branch (1208-09 A.D.); <sup>192</sup>  
mahāpradhāna Kēsavanāyaka, the governor of Bāsavur 140; <sup>193</sup> mahā-  
mandalēśvara Mallidēva-Gangidēva (1242); <sup>194</sup> Mahāmandalēśvara Malli-  
dēvarasa, the mappeva of Basavūr 140; <sup>195</sup> Pārisasetṭi, the Sarvādhi-  
kāri of Nagaritage 300, who is described as lāitrapālādēva-rājya-  
bhyudaya-kāraṇa (1241 A.D.); <sup>196</sup> Sāvanta Thakkura and his sons Kali-  
dēva Thakkura and Ramnugi Thakkura, governing the area round about  
Tilavallī (1237 A.D.); <sup>197</sup>

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Puruṣhottama's wife's name is given as Nirubāyi.

185 A.R.I.E., 1945-46, No.B 354.

186 A.R.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K.No.65. His wife's name is here  
given as Mānikadēvi.

188 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.B 14 and 15.

188 Ibid., 1950-51, No.B 241.

189 See Appendix I(a).

190 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.Nos.200-01.

191 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.No.24.

192 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.186; Ibid., 1936-37, B.K.No.85

193 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIX, pp.194 ff.

194 A.R.S.I.E., 1949-50, No.B 161.

195 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIX, pp.194 ff.

196 A.R.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 474.

197 K.S.P.P., Vol.24, No.1.



In addition to these important chiefs enumerated above we find a number of others in different cadres. They are not listed here.

#### Territory:

Singhana started taking part in the affairs of the kingdom during his father's time and this provided him with the training and experience required for shouldering the burden independently. A valiant prince, Singhana, from the very beginning of his career, made a mark as a brave warrior and was responsible for extending the Sēūṇa kingdom on all sides. The Hoysala in the South who thought that he had firmly entrenched himself in the Belvola country had to vacate it soon and Singhana forced his way deep into the Shimoga District, covering the erstwhile province of Banavāsi, thus completing the occupation of almost all the territory of the Chālukyas. The Arabian Sea became the western border with the territories of Goa and the Konkan area of the Kadāmbas and Śilāhāras included in the Sēūṇa kingdom. The numerous fights that took place on the Narmadā with the Lāṭa chiefs and Gūrjaras show that for all practical purposes that river remained the northern border. The eastern boundary was perhaps not so specified as that. Though Singhana could penetrate into the Āndhra region, his movement in that direction was not swift because of the opposition of the Kākatīyas and the Telugu Chōḍa chiefs. But the records of Singhana found in the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts show that the eastern parts of those Districts were included in the Sēūṇa kingdom.

Inscriptions:

Fleet detailed the activities of Singhana on the basis of about fifty records. But, now more than two hundred <sup>of these</sup> have been discovered <sup>from</sup> <sup>former</sup> in all parts of the Sēuna kingdom. These records throw much new light on the career of Singhana. A worthy grandson of Bhīllama, who planned a vast kingdom and laid <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ foundations, ~~for that~~ Singhana built the edifice by his might. Though he spent all his life in wars, he did not overlook other aspects of progress. He was responsible directly and indirectly for the harmonious growth of different religions by bestowing handsome grants and patronage. He patronised learning and the best examples for this is the appointment in his court of Chaṅgaḍēva as <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ chief astrologer. The latter belonged to the family of the famous Bhāskarāchārya and he founded a college for the study of Bhāskarāchārya's works. The illustrious work Saṅgīta-ratnākara of Śaraṅgaḍēva was written during the reign of Singhana. Numerous lithic records both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa composed in ornate style speak of the healthy growth of literature during his period. In one of the inscriptions Singhana himself is called Sāhitya-chaturāṇana. <sup>198</sup> It is no wonder then that the Sēuna kingdom reached its zenith under Singhana. He achieved <sup>that could</sup> ~~what~~ all ~~was to~~ be achieved and perhaps left nothing for his successors to <sup>accomplish.</sup> ~~do~~ So the responsibility of his successors Kannara and Mahāḍēva was to look after and preserve what was gained by their grandfather - and this they ably did. It is quite <sup>fitting</sup> ~~proper~~ therefore to <sup>describe</sup> ~~call~~ their period <sup>as</sup> the period of stability.

CHAPTER V  
THE STABILITY  
Kannara and Mahādēva

(1) KANNARA

Jaitugi II, the son of Singhana:

A solitary damaged inscription from Bijapur,<sup>1</sup> gives the name of the queen of Singhana as Jētādēvī, by calling him Jētādēvī-manōramah. This royal couple had a son Jaitugi, named after his grandfather and therefore to be called Jaitugi II. Most of the<sup>2</sup> inscriptions giving the genealogy of the family mention him. A few records also describe him as a valiant prince who subdued many enemies. But the fact<sup>3</sup> that there is not a single record of his time and that Singhana was immediately followed on the throne by his grandson Kannara ~~go to~~ show that Jaitugi II did not rule.

Accession of Kannara:

Like those of his predecessors, the inscriptions of Kannara also are not unanimous in counting his regnal years.

The latest date for Singhana, viz., 1247 A.D. October is found in a record from Shābāl in Shiggōn taluk of Dharwar District. But for Kannara, the grandson and successor of Singhana, we have dates showing that he started ruling from 1247 A.D., March. Of the

1 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.154.

2 Rājaprasasti I of Hmēadri does not mention him. Next to Singhana it introduces Kannara and Mahādēva as the grandsons of Singhana while Rājaprasasti II mentions him as the king and the son of Singhana.

fifteen records which <sup>give</sup> ~~have~~ his regnal years, seven place the commencement of his rule in 1246 A.D. ranging from the month of March to December,<sup>3</sup> while eight others give him 1247 A.D., as the first year, the months ranging from February to November.<sup>4</sup> But it is certain that Kannara did not succeed to the throne so early as that. There are at least six inscriptions of Singhana which show that he was ruling till October of 1247 A.D. There is a record for Kannara which is dated in June 1247 A.D. and the latter is the date of Singhana's Dharwar plates. These dates therefore suggest that Kannara associated himself with his grandfather in the governance of the country, possibly as heir-apparent. In fact an inscription of 1237 A.D. shows that he had even <sup>at</sup> ~~on~~ <sup>at</sup> the early date taken part in a war with the Hoysala king.<sup>5</sup> But it is clear that he ascended the throne only towards the end of 1247 A.D., for, after October of that year, we do not find any records for his grandfather.

As observed in the previous chapter, Kannara's reign was not as eventful as his grandfather's. Nevertheless, he had to fight with the neighbouring powers, though <sup>these fights</sup> ~~they~~ were generally of little consequence so far as territorial gains were concerned.

#### War with the Paramāras:

The records of Kannara ascribe to him in a conventional

3 See Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk 198; A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.55; Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.118; A.R.I.E., 1950-51, No.B 39; Ibid., 1960-61, No.B ; A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.50; Ibid., 1926, No.426.

4 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.368; Ep.Ind., Vol.XVI, pp.336 ff.; J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XII, pp.12 ff; A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.106; Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.340; A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.98; Ibid.

way, victory over the Paramāras; <sup>and</sup> ~~but~~ it is not unlikely that the two armies fought occasionally. We have seen above that the two house-bore traditional enmity <sup>for</sup> ~~against~~ each other and therefore the clashes were inevitable. But the results were helpful to ~~neither~~. neither. During the reign of Dēvapāla, Mālava was weakened by the increasing Muslim onslaughts and Singhana and the Vāghēla chiefs further weakened its power by their invasions. Jaitugi, Kannara's Paramāra contemporary, therefore, could not have been in a position to prevent the attacks of Kannara.

#### War with the Gūrjaras:

In the meantime changes had taken place in the Gūrjara country. Bhīma II was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla. During Bhīma's days, Vāghēlā Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavalā were the de facto rulers and the latter's son Visaladēva naturally did not like the occupation of the Gūrjara throne by Tribhuvanapāla. It appears probable <sup>6</sup> that he forced himself on the throne by ousting the latter.

It may be recalled <sup>here</sup> that during the last days of Singhana, Visaladēva faced the Sēūna army and the effects seem to have been adverse, <sup>causing</sup> ~~resulting~~ the death of the Sēūna general Rāma in that <sup>e</sup> battle. Kannara, perhaps to avenge the loss, raided Gūjarat when he came to power. Inscriptions are indeed silent over this event;

B.K.No.162; Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.426.

5 Ep.Carn., Vol.III, Md 122.

6 A.K.Majumdar, Op.cit., p.173.

but Hēṁādri credits Kannara with a thumping victory over Viśala-  
dēva.<sup>7</sup> It is however certain that the battle did not result in  
Viśala yielding any territory to the Sēūṇa.

Relations with the Kākatīyas:

The Eastern border appears to have been quiet during  
Kannara's rule. Though the Sēūṇa and Kākatīya records, in a rather  
conventional way, claim victory of each over the other, it is doubt-  
ful if the two armies met at all on the battle field.

War with the Hoysalas:

Conditions on the southern side, on the other hand, were  
more disturbed. Hoysala Sōmēśvara, though he had to look after his  
own affairs in the Tamil country, was striving hard to get back the  
northern districts which had been lost to the Sēūṇa king. That he  
moved in this direction either on his accession, or, more probably  
even earlier, during the life time of his father is evidenced from  
an inscription of 1237 A.D. which refers to his conquering Krishna-  
Kandāra, i.e. Sēūṇa Kannara. A number of records<sup>8</sup> of Sōmēśvara boast  
of his victory over the Sēūṇas. His epithets such as Sēūṇarāya-  
disāpatta, Sēūṇarāya-darpa-dalana and the like indicate that he had  
to fight with the Sēūṇa king, Kannara, a number of times. Also, an  
inscription of Kannara himself describes his minister Chaudiseṭṭi  
as Hoysala chakravarti Sōmēśvara-madanivāraṇa.<sup>8</sup> The results of these  
battles were not advantageous to the Hoysala. He was not only not

7 Op.cit., p.195, verse 46.

8 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIX, p.28, line 31.

able to regain the lost territory but could not <sup>even</sup> check further encroachment into his northern holdings. We have observed that Singhana's sway in the Hoysala area ~~(extended)~~ had spread up to the Shimoga District. The discovery of Kannara's records in Chitradurga District show that Hoysala's hold in <sup>his</sup> northern part of his country was fast loosening and that Sēūna was still extending his sway in that area. Apparently his involvement in the affairs of the Chōla country was prejudicial to Sōmēśvara in his encounters with the Sēūna in the north.

In the Chōla country, Rājendra III was trying to revive the Chōla supremacy, which was suppressed by the onslaught <sup>ought</sup> of the Pāṇdyas. Probably in the absence of Sōmēśvara, his ally, he attacked the Pāṇdyas territory but with doubtful results. This enraged the Hoysala king and he forsook the cause of the Chōla king and stood by his enemy, the Pāṇdyas. The diplomacy of the Hoysala was 'to keep the balance even between the Pāṇdyas and the Chōla powers, to encourage both to look to the Hoysala for assistance in times of need and thus to secure for themselves a dominant place in the state-system of the South.' <sup>9</sup> This change of policy of the Hoysala towards the Chōla created bitterness between the two and was advantageous to the Pāṇdyas, and the Hoysala was not late in realising it. The rise of Jaṭāvarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇdyas to power and his ambitious schemes were a danger both to the Chōla and the Hoysala. This brought the old allies together again. But even their united front could not check the Pāṇdyas' onslaught and sometime before 1258 A.D. both the <sup>10</sup> Chōlas and Hoysalas were completely routed.

9 K.A.N.Sastri, The Chōlas, 2nd ed., p.433.

10 Ibid., p.437.

With this part of the story we are not much concerned; but it goes to show that, as has been remarked just above, Sōmēśvara's preoccupation in the southern part of his country and his entanglement in the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa affairs, gave him little time to pay any attention to the happenings in the northern part. He must have felt this difficulty as also the necessity of his presence in the Tamil country; and this, together with the fact that he was growing in age and was not keeping good health, explains possibly his act, in 1254 A.D., of bifurcating the kingdom and entrusting the two halves-northern and southern -- to his two sons Narasiṃha III and Rāmanātha respectively. He himself chose to stay at Kaṇṇānūr.

#### Other Conquests:

Some inscriptions credit Kannara with minor conquests such as the Ābhīras and the kings of Konkana and Kōsala. The Uddhari inscription of 1255 A.D.<sup>12</sup> calls him Ābhīra-kula-dahana-dāvānala, 'the fierce fire to the forest of the Ābhīra family'. We have already seen that Siṅghana vanquished the Ābhīra king Lakshmaḍēva. It is not impossible that Kannara also in a conventional way claims the victory actually achieved by his predecessor. But the Purushōttama-puri plates state that Kannara gained victory over Kāmapāla and thus, pleasing the cowherds, attained the position of Kṛishṇa.<sup>13</sup> Mirashi<sup>14</sup> on this ground has suggested that Kāmapāla might be an Ābhīra king.

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11 Coelho, op.cit., pp.198-99.

12 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.136.

13 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXV, p.210, line 12.

14 Ibid., p.204.



There is, however, no evidence to substantiate this surmise.

The Tasagaon plates of Kannara<sup>15</sup> refer in a veiled fashion to his conquest over Gōpakapālaka, who according to Mirashi was an Ābhīra king.<sup>16</sup> Khare on the other hand suggests that Gōpaka is Goa, and the Gōpaka-pālaka may be the Goa-Kadamba king Jayakēśin III.<sup>17</sup> Khare intends to support his argument by the fact that in the verse next to the one referring to Gōpaka-pālaka, a 'Jayakēśi 'the king of the ocean' is mentioned. But Jayakēśin,<sup>18</sup> who ruled between 1187-98 and 1216 A.D. is too early to be a contemporary of Kannara. On the other hand, Jayakēśi<sup>19</sup> mentioned in this verse can be taken as Kēśiraja II belonging to the family of Śilāhāras of the Northern Kōṅkaṇa who were in power at least till 1238 A.D. and possibly even later. Though the Śilāhāra chiefs were already subdued, it is not impossible that some chiefs of the family tried to raise their heads and revolt, whenever they found an opportunity. Kannara's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa<sub>2</sub> may refer to his conquest of the Śilāhāra chief. In the Tasagaon plates the victory over Kōṅkaṇa chief is ascribed to the king's subordinate Chandradēva while that on the Gōpakapālaka, i.e., the Ābhīra king, to his younger brother.

The Purushottanapurī plates again mention the king of Kōśala as one of the enemies defeated by Kannara. The king of Kōśala, as has been suggested, must be the one <sup>2</sup> belonging to the

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15 Ibid., Vol.XXVII, pp.210 ff.

16 Ibid., Vol.XXV, p.204.

17 Ibid., Vol.XXVII, p.209.

18 Kadamabakula, pp.202-205.

19 Ind.Cult., Vol.II, p.416.

Kalachuri branch of Ratnapuri, though it is not possible to ascertain the name of that king.<sup>20</sup> Singhapa, we have seen above, conquered Jājalladēva of the same family.

Some inscriptions state that Kannara defeated the Chōḷa king too. But this is only eulogistic. We have seen above that the Chōḷa king Rājendra III was at this time busy fighting with the Pāṇdyas and he could not have directly come into conflict with the Sūṇa army. There is not also the slightest evidence to show that the Sūṇa sided with the Pāṇḍya king and then<sup>us</sup> helped the latter to defeat the Chōḷa.

A comparatively peaceful atmosphere in the country helped Kannara to take interest in the cultural side of life. As was usual with the medieval monarch, he also was of religious disposition, equally patronising all religious faiths. ~~But~~ Inscriptions seem to lay particular stress on this point by calling him Vedādhāra or the upholder of the Vedas.<sup>21</sup> Hemādri tells us that he performed numerous sacrifices and rejuvenated the Dharma which had become <sup>c</sup>en<sup>22</sup>erated in course of time. The Līlācharitrā<sup>4</sup> informs us that he had a high regard for the saints of the Mahānubhāva school. It states that on a holy occasion Kannara, accompanied by his younger brother Mahādēva, went to Lonār to pay his respects to Chakradhara.<sup>23</sup> Two important works in Sanskrit were published during the period of Kannara, the Sūktinaktāvalī, an anthology,

20 Ep.Ind., Vol.XX, p.204.

21 Kr.Ing., Vol.I, No.31, p.72, line 11.

22 Op.cit., p.195, verse 46.

23 I.I.H., Vol.V, p.200.

compiled by Jalhana who was a military officer in the king's service, and Vedāntakalpataru by Amalananda, a commentary on Bhāmati of Vāchapatiniśya. The latter work is itself a commentary on Śaṅkarācharya's Śārīrakabhāṣya.

#### Subordinate Officials:

Among the ministers and military officers, mention must be made of Bīchapa or Bīchiseṭṭi and his successors. A famous general of Singhapa, he continued to serve Kannara also. In an inscription of 1247 A.D.<sup>24</sup> he is called mahāpradhāna and rāya-dandādhipati. The record states that at his instance Aliya Malliseṭṭi made certain grants to a number of brāhmanas, in the presence of god Amṛtēśvara, at Anṇigere, where the inscription is found. This donor Aliya Malliseṭṭi was none else than the son-in-law of Bīchiseṭṭi. Malliseṭṭi<sup>t</sup> is also represented to have been holding the post of a Sarvādhikāri.

Bīchiseṭṭi's elder brother Malla or Malliseṭṭi also served Kannara. An inscription from Bepḍigēri dated in 1249 A.D.<sup>25</sup> calls him the chief-minister (anātya-dhūri-sthita), and records the grant of a village Tambrapaṇi by name, situated in Venugrāma-dēsa, made by him, when on a military expedition, he had camped at Paundarika-kshētra on the banks of the river Bhīma-rathī. Paundarika-kshētra is modern Pandharpur, in Sholapur District in Maharashtra. Another inscription of the same date,<sup>26</sup> represents him as camping at Mudugala-grāma, which is modern Mudgal.

24 A.R.E.I.E., 1925-26, B.K.No.426.

25 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, pp.69 ff.

26 I.R.E.R.A.S., Vol.XII, pp.25 ff.

in the Lingsugur taluk of Raichur District when he made the grant of the village Santheya Bāgēvādi, to thirtytwo brāhmanas. This <sup>gift</sup> ~~grant~~ village is stated to have been situated in the division of Hubballi 12, which formed a part of Kuṇḍi-dēsa, i.e. Kūṇḍi 3000 of other inscriptions. Hubballi is the same as Mugaṭkhān-<sup>27</sup> Hubballi. Still another inscription dated 1250 A.D. states that he was enjoying half the kingdom of Kannara, after making him the master of all the earth between the Sētu and the Himālayas.

But a member of this family who rose to the heights of glory in the times of Kannara was Chaudiseṭṭi, the son of Malliseṭṭi. He is variously called Chāvunḍa, Chāmunḍarāja and Chāmunḍa-<sup>28</sup> dandādhiśa. He makes his appearance during the time of Singhapa, but he succeeded to the position of prime ministership during the regime of Kannara. The Benḍigēri inscription of 1249 A.D. referred to above calls him the right arm of the king and represents him as having accompanied his father Malliseṭṭi in the latter's katakāyātrā or the military expedition. The inscription of 1250 A.D. mentioned above ascribes him victory over the Pāṇḍya and Koṅkana kings and the king of the fort on the river Kāvērī. Chaudiseṭṭi again is credited with the subduing of Hoysala Sīmēśvara. The <sup>29</sup> Bēhaṭṭi plates of 1253 A.D. record a grant made by him to the brāhmanas of the village Kukkanūr, which was ~~converted by him into~~ an agrashāra. The inscription states that he was then on a visit to

27 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 21 ff.

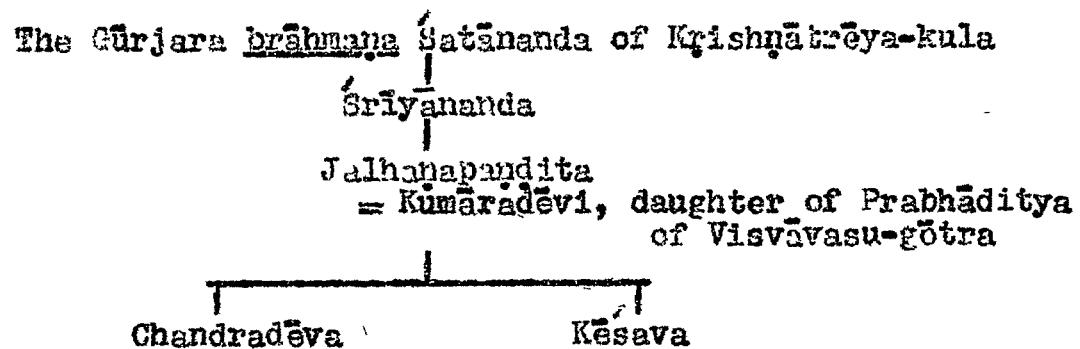
28 A. R. S. I. E., 1936-37, B. K. No. 55, text lines 17-18.

29 A. R. S. I. E., Vol. XII, pp. 42 ff.

the  
Kukkanūr in course of his dis-vijaya. Some inscriptions designate him Sarvādhikāri while others associate him with such high posts as mahānradhāna and rāya-dandanātha. From the eulogistic descriptions found in the records, it becomes clear that he enjoyed the confidence of the king and was placed in charge of the southern part of his kingdom. The Hāvēri inscription, <sup>30</sup> the date of which is lost, states that he instituted the agrehāra of Hāvēri, i.e. modern Hāvēri in Dharwar District.

Chaudisetṭi's wife was Lakṣmādēvi or Lakṣhāmbikā and he had a brother also, by name Dēvasrēshṭhi. The Mamadāpur inscription <sup>31</sup> records that he installed a linga in the name of the latter.

The Tasgaon plates introduce two other generals, Chandradēva and his brother Kēsava. These two brothers claim to have hailed from the Gūrjara country and the record gives their genealogy as follows:



Chandradēva was the favourite of the king and he had the title

<sup>30</sup> A.F.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.102.

<sup>31</sup> Ep.Ind., Vol.XIX, pp.21 ff.

Kara-hastā-malla. From the description in the record it follows that Chandradēva was responsible for vanquishing the Koṅkana king. His brother likewise defeated a chief of the Ābhīra clan.

Jalhana-paṇḍita, the father of Chandra and Kēśava, need not however be confused with the famous Jalhana, another general of Kannara and the author of Sūktimuktāvali. The latter's family belonged to Vatsa gōtra, whose members were in the service of the Sēūnas, from the days of Mallugi II.

Mahāpradhāna and Servādhikāri Jōgamarāhuta, was governing the division of Sindavāḍi in 1254 A.D.<sup>32</sup> Another officer Prabhākaradēva, with the same designations, seems to have been in charge of Kuntala in 1215 A.D. as is indicated by a damaged inscription from Hūvinasiggali.<sup>33</sup> In 1258 A.D. another officer Mahādēva-rāṇeya was in charge of the divisions of Tardavāḍi and Kaṇambāḍe. A mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nenasī was the governor of the district of Nāgarakhanda in the Banavāsī province in 1248 A.D. Tipparasa was one of the ministers of the king. The Hulgūr inscription of 1255 A.D.<sup>36</sup> records a grant made by him in conjunction with Gōnamadēvi, who probably was his wife. Sāraṅgadēva, designated rāya-haḍapada-nārāyana (1255 A.D.),<sup>37</sup> paramaviśvāsi Raghavanāyaka (1258 A.D.)<sup>38</sup> and Daḷavāyi Bhōgadēva Jādhava (1247 A.D.)<sup>39</sup> were officers of lower cadre. A Haripālādēva occurs in an inscription from Kabbur dated

32 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i.369.

33 ARIE, 1945-46, No.B 29c

34 A.E.I.E., 1945-46, No.B296.

34 Ibid., 1957-58, No.B 2

35 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.426. This does not appear to be the full name of the chief. But since the record is damaged, it cannot be made out.

36 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIV, pp.336 ff. 37 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.13

40  
in 1251 A.D.

Mention should be made here of Lakshmadēva and Jalhana who were in the service of Kannara. Lakshmadēva is stated to have laid the kingdom of Kannara on strong foundations by his wise counsels (mantra). His son Jalhana was a scholar and a soldier and he wielded the pen and the sword with equal dexterity. He was, like his predecessors, the chief of the elephant squad in the Sēhna army. He also compiled Sūktinuktāvalī.<sup>41</sup> The Tadval inscription<sup>42</sup> introduces to us two other officers, Chē<sup>at</sup>tarasa and the Kūcharasa. These two dignatories rose to eminence in later days during the reign of Mahādēva.

#### Inscriptions:

When Fleet wrote his Dynasties, only 11 inscriptions of Kannara were at his disposal. But the records belonging to his reign, subsequently discovered, are five times that number. Most of these records come from Dharwar and Bijapur Districts, while some are found in Shimoga, Chitradurg, Belgaum and Bellary Districts ~~also~~.

#### 11. MAHĀDĒVA

##### Last Date of Kannaras:

Singhana had a pretty long rule to his credit — covering

38 A.R.E.I.K., 1933-34, B.K.No.55.

39 Ibid., 1942-43, B.K.No.14.

40 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.118.

41 Introductory verses, 25 ff.

42 Kr.Ins., Vol.II, p.143.

a period of fortyseven years, from 1199 to 1247 A.D. By the time  
 he Kannara came to <sup>the</sup> throne he was apparently old and naturally his  
 reign had had to be quite short. It was formerly thought that the  
 latest date for Kannara was 1259 A.D. and that his brother Mahā-  
 dēva succeeded him in 1260 A.D.<sup>43</sup> But an inscription referring to  
 the rule of Kannara, found at Belgaum is dated in Śaka 1184, Dur-  
 mati, Jyēshṭha ba, Amāvāsya, Monday,<sup>44</sup> regularly corresponding to  
 1261 A.D., May 30. This is the latest date for Kannara so far  
 found and it shows that Kannara was still alive and in power in  
 the first half of 1261 A.D. at least; <sup>this</sup> ~~and~~ ~~is~~ is corroborated by  
 the date of the coronation of Mahādēva which will be referred to  
 below.

#### Joint Rule:

Mahādēva, the younger brother of Kannara, must have also  
 come of age during the reign of his grandfather Singhana. We have  
 however, no clue to think that like his elder brother he also took  
 part in the warfare or administration of the kingdom during his  
 grandfather's life time. But surely, soon after Kannara's succes-  
 sion, he also wielded the responsibility of the kingdom in the  
 capacity of the heir-apparent or yuvarāja. An inscription of  
 Kannara, dated in the month of February of 1251 A.D., i.e., hardly  
 four years after Kannara's coronation, designates Mahādēva as yuva-  
 rāja.<sup>45</sup> Further, one or two references make us believe that in

43 Bom.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.ii, pp.526-27.

44 Kr.Ins., Vol.II, pp.14 ff.

45 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIX, p.32, text line 13. Yuvarai-ānuja-  
tāya Mahādēvas-tathā-bhavaṭ.



course of time he did not remain just a yuvarāja but actually started ruling the kingdom jointly with Kannara. For instance, an inscription from Nidōṇi actually refers itself to the joint rule of Kannara and Mahādēva (Kanharadēva-Mahādēva-vijayarāyam-uttar-<sup>46</sup>ōttaram Dēvagiriya anelaviḍinolu rāyam puyuttam-ire). Amalānanda, the author of Vēdantakalpataru, also refers to this fact in an introductory verse to his work thus:

Kīrtvā Yādava-vamśam-unnamayati Śrī Jaitradēva-ātmaie  
Krishnē Kshmbhriti bhūtalam saha Mahā-dēvēna+sambibhrati | <sup>47</sup>

And

Bhrātrā Mahādēvanripēna sākam pāti kshitim prāg-iva Dharmasū-  
nau |  
Kṛitō mayā-yam pravarah pratendhah pragalbha-vāshaspati-  
bhāvavēdī || <sup>48</sup>

Thus the above statements go to show that soon after Kannara's accession, Mahādēva shared equally <sup>with his brother</sup> the responsibility of ruling over the kingdom.

#### Accession:

The earliest inscription we have for Mahādēva, excluding the one which refers to his joint rule, is a copper plate grant from <sup>49</sup>Kalēgaon. The record is dated in Śaka 1182 (expired), Durmati,

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46 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.185.

47 Brahmasūtrasāṅkarabhāṣyam, with Bhāmati, Kalpataru and Pūri mala, Verse 13 of introduction to Kalpataru.

48 Ibid., Verse 7 of the concluding portion.

49 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXII, pp.31 ff. Two inscriptions (Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg 171-72) however quote the Śaka 1180, but the other details given are Kshaya, Chaitra 'su.14, Monday. The cyclic year

Bhādrapada 'su.2, Monday. In the year given, there were two Bhādrapadas and the details in the Nija Bhādrapada regularly correspond to 1261 A.D., August 29. The record explicitly states that the grant was made on this date on the occasion of his own coronation (Ātmanah Pāttabandha-samayē) for the prosperity of the kingdom. The latest date, as has been observed above, for Kannara is May 30 of 1261 A.D. and it is not improbable that he lived one or two months later. Mahādēva ascended the throne on the 29th of August of that year.

But curiously enough, inscriptions do not count Mahādēva's regnal years from this date. Nine of his records which are dated in the regnal years do not count the regnal years unanimously. Of these seven count the commencement of his reign from 1260 A.D., the months ranging between May and December<sup>50</sup> and one from 1261 November<sup>51</sup>. One inscription states that his 12th year corresponded to the cyclic year Pramōda<sup>52</sup> (1270 A.D.) thus giving the first year as 1259 A.D.!

The reason for the majority of his records, counting the regnal years from 1260 A.D. when Kannara was still alive, is that he was already by that time ruling jointly with the latter.

50 See Śivadēvavijaya, Appendix No. III ; A.R.I.E., 1957-58, No.B 280; S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.374; A.R.S.I.E., 1938-39, B.K. No.65; S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.375; A.R.S.I.E., 1941-42, B.K. No.24; A.R.I.E., 1949-50, No.B 76.

51 ARSIE, B. 1932-33, B.K. 51

52 A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.81.

### Military Activities:

The traditional enmity with the bordering states was kept up by Mahādēva also. He bears the titles, Mālaviyamalla, Mālava-medana-trinētra, Gūriāra-rāya-vāṇanānkusa, Gūriararāya-bhayaṅkara, Teluṅgarāya-siraḥ-kamala-nālōtpātana, Teluṅgarāya-sthāpanāchārya and the like, which indicate his hostile relations with the king of Mālava, Gūrjara and the Telugu countries. Of course, these titles are just hereditary and do not give any information regarding his particular conquests. But the contemporary author Hēmadri, who was also a minister of Mahādēva, supplies us the details about the relation of Mahādēva with these kings as also <sup>that about</sup> his other conquests.

Thus says he in praise of the valour of Mahādēva:

Tillīṅga-kshitipāla-tūla-nichaya-prakshēpa-chandānilō  
gariad-Gūriara-garva-parvata-bhidā-dambhōli-dōr-vikramah ||  
Hāl-ōnmilita-Kaunkana-kshitipatiḥ <sup>ṇ</sup> karmāta-Lāṭ-ōdbhata-  
kshōṇipāla-vidambanah <sup>53</sup> sa hi Mahādēvō katham varṇyatē ||  
Yō Bhōladēva-nripatēḥ <sup>54</sup> pratāpī jagrāha vāham mada-manda-satvah |  
Sārdham jananyā saha jivitēna sōmēsvarasy- āpi jahāra rāiyam ||  
yadiya-gandhadvipa-gaṇḍapātī-nishṭhyūta-dānāmbu-taraṅginīshu |  
sōmah samudra-plava-pēsālō-pi mamaila sanyaiḥ saha Kumkanēsah |  
Simōllanḡhanam-ēva vasya jagatām sōmhāra-ity-uchyatē  
Kruddhē Vairadhare-pi yah kshiti-bhritam Mainākam-atrāyata |

53 Op.cit., p.196, verse 48 ff.

54 See Ibid., foot note No.3.

~~smāraṁ smāraṁ-smushya~~ ~~vasya duhsaha-mahahsandōha-dāvānalaṁ~~  
~~Tē-āmbhōnidhinā=pi~~ ~~Kuṁkanapatiṁ-āraṁ~~ ~~kukshi-athitaḥ~~ ||  
~~Vāhānam=api~~ ~~vasya vairi-vishavēshv-ātanvatām dhanvinā~~  
~~Bhātillīnga-nripāṅganād=arudinaṁ~~ ~~vāhyādi-līlā-bhavat~~ |  
~~vasantasva-aiva ranē~~ ~~lahāra karīṇas=tat=pañcha-sabdādikān~~  
~~vas=tatyāia yadhūvadhā=aparatas=tad=bbūbhūiaṁ~~ ~~Rudraṁ~~ ||

The second version of the Rājaprasasti has these verses:

~~Ayaṁ sīsu-stri-saranūgatānaṁ~~ ~~hantā-Mahādēvanripō~~ ~~na jātu~~ |  
~~Itthaṁ vinīchitva tatō-ti-bhītair=Andhraiḥ~~ ~~purandhrī~~ ~~nihitā~~  
~~nripatve~~ ||  
~~Ata ēva hi Mālavēśvaraḥ~~ ~~Sīsum=āva~~ ~~svapadē~~ ~~nyavēśavat~~ |  
~~svayan=āsu~~ ~~vihāya~~ ~~sāmpadaḥ~~ ~~kaṇṭen=aiva~~ ~~chiraṁ~~ ~~tapaśvati~~ ||  
~~Etat=pratāpē~~ ~~bahir=amburāśer=pravēntarē=py=asti~~ ~~kutah~~ ~~prayāmi~~  
~~Chiraṁ~~ ~~viniray=āti~~ ~~yadiya-vairi~~ ~~Sēmēśvarē~~ ~~badavam=āva~~ ~~yātah~~ ||

These verses, it is clear, claim thumping victory for Mahādēva, over the kings of Mālava and Gūrjara, Rudraṁ of Tilinga or Telugu country, i.e., Kākatīya, Sēmēśvara of Konkana and the king of Kar-nāṭa. It is obvious that Hēṁādri has used all hyperbolic expressions in praise of his patron; nevertheless his description does give some factual information regarding the latter's activities. And this information is indeed valuable, particularly in view of the fact that epigraphical records, ~~except very few~~, are not <sup>of</sup> much help in this direction.

### War with the Paramāras:

The inscriptions of Mahādēva describe him in a vague manner as the three-eyed god Śiva to the cupid that was the king of Mālava. But Hēmādri in a figurative way says that the king of Mālava placed on the throne an infant and himself renouncing all glory, practised false penance. This he did to save his country from the wrath of Mahādēva for he knew that the latter <sup>would</sup> never kill <sup>a</sup> lady, <sup>or a</sup> child or one who seeks his refuge. This statement of Hēmādri purports to mean that at the time when Mahādēva was on the Sēūpa throne, an infant was the dejure head of the Paramāra kingdom. We cannot simply brush aside this statement as mere exaggeration since <sup>Hēmādri</sup> ~~he~~ was <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ contemporary author and as a minister he was actually in the know of events and could not have just indulged in showering false flattery over his patron. Further, another statement concerning the Telugu country, that there also a lady was placed on the throne for the same reason is a historical fact. Then the question arises as to who this infant child, the head of the Paramāra kingdom, was. In <sup>one</sup> ~~another~~ of the verses quoted above, Hēmādri states that Mahādēva snatched away the army of the king, Bhōjadēva. Now who is this Bhōjadēva? The same verse also refers to his seizing the kingdom of Sōmēśvara, the king of Konkana, i.e. a member of the Śilāhāra family. But no connection between these <sup>kings</sup> two can be presumed. In the Śilāhāra family there was no king of the name Bhōjadēva, contemporaneous with Mahādēva. The last of the Bhōjadēvas of Śilāhāra family was Bhōja II of the Kolhapur branch and we know that he was defeated by Singhana. The only other Bhōjadēva that can be thought of is Bhōja II of the Paramāra dynasty. But the sources from the Paramāra side do not reveal

any information regarding the seating of the infant on the throne as asserted by Hēmadri. Neither do they speak of any fight with the Sēūnas except of course, the Mādhāta plates of Jayasimha-<sup>56</sup> Jayavarman II, which make a passing reference to it. The plates in question state that Jayasimha-Jayavarman defeated a dākshinātya or the southern king to the south of the Vindhya, who can be none else than the Sēūna king. Since the Mādhāta plates are dated in 1274 A.D., the fight apparently must have taken place earlier than that, possibly during the last days of Mahādēva. Though these plates claim victory for the Paramāra king, on the ground of specific statement made by Hēmadri, it may be surmised that in the battle Mahādēva gained the upperhand and consequently, Jayasimha-Jayavarman had to flee away. It is not unlikely that he made Bhōja II set on the throne, who probably was his second son, the first being Arjunavarman II. Later on, after the death of Jayasimha, a quarrel ensued for succession and possibly Arjunavarman II succeeded in putting down Bhōja II. This must be the incident which the Muslim historian Wasāf refers to as the quarrel between the son of the deceased king and his minister, following the death of the king of Mālava.<sup>57</sup> It may, however, be added that evidence in this regard is too meagre and only future discovery <sup>ies can</sup> ~~should~~ substantiate this surmise.

War with Gūrjaras:

On the Gūrjara throne was Vāghēlā Visaladēva. The Kalē-

56 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.

57 Ganguli: History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 228.

gaon plates of Mahādēva and the Paiṭāṇ plates of Nāmachandra<sup>58</sup> state specifically that Mahādēva defeated a Viśala. But this conquest ascribed to him must have been achieved by him before he actually ascended the throne for this feat is connected with him in the record which is dated on the day of his coronation, viz., 1261 A.D. Thus it is quite likely that the fight with Viśala herein referred to is the same as the one in which his predecessor Kannara took part.

A record of Viśaladēva furnishes <sup>the</sup> ~~an~~ interesting information that 'he had married the daughter of the king of Karnāṭa.'<sup>59</sup> Though the term Karnāṭa is generally associated with the Hoysalas, it is rather improbable that the two houses -- the Gūrjara and the Hoysala -- came into close contact and entered into matrimonial alliance. On the other hand, it is possible that, ~~if at all,~~ such an alliance must have taken place between the Gūrjara and the Sēūpa families, who were in the neighbourhood of each other. The Sēūpas were ruling over most of Karnāṭaka and, in fact, Singhaṇa bore the title Karnāṭarāya-vaṁśābhīrāma. It is possible that to patch up the bitter relations between the two families Singhaṇa gave his daughter to Viśaladēva. It is, however, certain that the desired object was not fulfilled and the hostilities did continue.

#### War with the Kākatīyas:

In the wake of Mahādēva's reign changes took place in the

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58 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, pp.314 ff.

59 Ind.Ant., Vol.VI, p.210. In text line 5 he is described as Karnāṭa-īśadhi-tenavā-avayavarāpurushōttama.

the kingdom of Kākatiyas. On account of Ganapati's having no male issues, his daughter Rudramā or Rudrāmbā succeeded him. A bold lady trained by her father in the intricacies of administration she assumed the name Rudradēva and ably ruled over the country for over three decades. As it is there was enmity between the two dynasties and this change - a lady heading a government - encouraged Mahādēva to begin the offensive against the Telugu country. That he led an invasion against Warangal, the capital of the Kākatiyas, is corroborated by the records of the latter dynasty also. Though inscriptions of Mahādēva are vague in this respect, <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ minister Hēmadri supplies some details. In the verses quoted above he stated<sup>5</sup> that Mahādēva was like a 'fierce wind expelling the multitude of cotton in form of Tillinga (i.e. Telugu) king'. He also says that he 'snatched away from the battle field elephants and the honour of pañchanahāsabha, but spared the king <sup>R</sup> Rudrama since he refrained from killing ladies'. Indulging in hyperboles, he adds, 'being convinced that Mahādēva <sup>would not</sup> ~~would~~ kill the children, women and those who seek his refuge, the Āndhras chose a lady as their monarch'. From these statements it becomes clear that Mahādēva invaded the Kākatiya country apparently with a design to extend his own territory. The result, however, does not seem to have been encouraging and he had to return to his capital empty handed, though his faithful minister eulogies<sup>5</sup> him as the victor. Sources from the Telugu side give the other side of the picture. Indeed the epigraphs of Rudrāmbā are <sup>not explicit</sup> ~~silent~~ over the incident, but the Telugu work Pratāparudracharitam supplies the details. According to this work, the Dēvagiri king (i.e. Mahādēva) attacked the Kākatiya territory and laid seige over the fort of



Warangal, Rūdrāmba, however, was not deterred. She put up a brave fight which lasted for full fifteen days. In the end, Mahādēva had to retreat and ~~was~~ he was pursued by the queen up to his capital Dēvagiri. Mahādēva had consequently to purchase peace at a heavy cost, which is said to be one crore gold coins.<sup>60</sup> Though the statements of the Telugu poet seem to be exaggerated, it is clear that Mahādēva did not gain anything worthwhile in this endeavour of his. An inscription now kept in Bīdar<sup>61</sup> in Mysore State which is most unfortunately preserved in <sup>only</sup> fragments only corroborates this view. This inscription, <sup>major</sup> portion of which including the date has been lost, belongs to Rūdrāmbā or Rūdramadēvi. It introduces to us a faithful general of hers, Bhairavadēva by name. He is stated to have belonged to the Sinda family. In course of the narration, the inscription states that Rūdramadēvi defeated the Sēūna king who must be Mahādēva only. Further, speaking of the valour of Bhairava, the record insists that he destroyed the army of the Sēūna king and among the precious articles which he brought from his conquests to his master Rūdramadēvi was included the country of Yādava (i.e. Sēūna). Even allowing exaggeration on the part of the zealous author of the lithic record, <sup>from</sup> the fact that the record is found in the Sēūna <sup>territory</sup> ~~country~~ (though its actual findspot is not known) and that it is written in Kannada, the language pre-

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60 Pp.40-41. On the basis of the fact that some coins of the Sēūna kings are found in the Krishna District, it was surmised that the hoard found might have formed part of money given by Mahādēva to the queen. (Early History of the Deccan, Ed.Yazdani, Vol.II, pp. 626-27).

61 A.R.I.M., 1956-57, No.B 181.

valent in the Sēūṇa land, it becomes clear that the Sēūṇa king did receive a set back at the hands of the Kākatīya queen, ably assisted by her brave generals.

#### Expedition to the South:

By the time Mahādēva ascended the Sēūṇa throne, the Hoysaḷa kingdom had been bifurcated into two portions one to be looked after by Narasimha III and the other by Rāmanātha. The anxiety of Sōmēśvara to keep his borders intact, which were constantly in danger of being invaded by the Sēūṇa on one side and the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas on the other, prompted him to take this step of dividing the kingdom. The plan was not very successful for even in his <sup>own</sup> life time, the Pāṇḍyas grew too strong for him and he and his son had to submit to the enemy. And that was the beginning of the decline of the glorious dynasty of the Hoysaḷas. The partition of the empire led to certain amount of chaos and some feudatories even tried to free themselves <sup>from</sup> the Hoysaḷa yoke. This disturbance in the Hoysaḷa territory encouraged Mahādēva and he marched towards the south. In <sup>the</sup> course of his expedition he first seems to have proceeded to the territory of the Kadamba chief Kāvādēva. The Kadambas of Banavāsi, as we have already seen, <sup>were</sup> subdued during the period of Singhana only and they were reduced to the position of the latter's subordinates. But it appears that during this time, Kāvādēva of this family was trying to flout the authority of the king and this necessitated the Sēūṇa king to put down the rebellious chief. So, in April of 1268 A.D. the Sēūṇa army was led against Kāvādēva by Baligadēva, a general of Mahādēva and he was joined by Viṭhala-danḍanāyaka. <sup>62</sup> Another

inscription of the same year refers to this battle in which a hero<sup>63</sup> on the Kadamba side lost his life. Another <sup>dissident</sup> ~~descendant~~ chief, who was not very willing to accept the suzerainty of the Sēūna was the Sāntara chief Bommarasa. On the way to the Hoysala territory ~~pre-~~ ~~was~~ the Sēūna army attacked him and it appears that a Sēūna general died in that battle. The date of the record giving this information is 1270 A.D. November.<sup>64</sup> Soon after, but sometime before the March of 1271 A.D., Sēūna attacked the Hoysala king and if the Hoysala version of the battle is to be believed, Mahādēva was made to flee instantly. The relevant portion of the record runs as follows:

Madavad-udagra-vairi-madamardana-vīra-Nṛisimha-bhūbhujam-  
gadirade beṇḍu Sēūna-mahāmahiṇam Mahādēva-rāṇeyam |  
Kadanadol-āntu nittasalarade biṭṭu būraṇsamagalam-  
kedari palāyanam kuśalam-ēnd-irad-ōḍidan-onde rāṭriyōl ||<sup>65</sup>

to  
But some of the Sēūna records ascribe him the titles such as<sup>66</sup> Hoysana-rāya-kōlāhala, meaning thereby that he created confusion in the Hoysala land by his attacks. Though it cannot be concluded on the basis of this vague epithet that the Sēūna king achieved victory over the Hoysala,<sup>a</sup> good number of inscriptions found in Chitradurg District indicate that the Sēūna influence extended <sup>deep</sup> ~~such~~ into the interior of the Hoysala territory.

63 Ibid., Vol.XI, Dg.79.

64 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sa.137.

65 Ibid., Vol.IV, Ng.39, text line 12-13.

66 A.R.S.I.E., 1926, No.446. Hēṇḍri also alludes to his victory over the Karnāṭa king, i.e. the Hoysala (op.cit., verse 48).

Subjugation of the Śilāhāra chief:

One other victory of Mahādēva which Hēmadri describes and which is corroborated by a solitary record — the Purushōttampuri grant of Rāmachandra — is the one over Sōmēśvara of Kōṅkaṇa. In the words of Hēmadri, Sōmēśvara the lord of Kōṅkaṇa, was drowned together with his army, though he was an expert in swimming, in the ocean of the rut of the elephants of Mahādēva. He uprooted him easily. Through fear of Mahādēva, even the sea did not protect him. Between the fire of <sup>the</sup> wrath of Mahādēva and the submarine fire, Sōmēśvara chose the latter. By these words, Hēmadri means to say that there was a fierce marine fight between Sōmēśvara and Mahādēva and the former was killed therein, along with his fleet. The Purushōttampuri plates state that he drowned Sōmēś into the ocean.<sup>67</sup> Now this Sōma, who is called the lord of Kōṅkaṇa, cannot be anyone else but <sup>the</sup> a Śilāhāra chief of that name. It has already been seen that the Śilāhāras were reduced to the position of subordinates by the generals of Singhana himself. But it appears that after his death, some chiefs of the family of Northern Kōṅkaṇa began hostilities towards <sup>next</sup> the ruling king, <sup>Kannara.</sup> We have seen in the previous section that Kēśirāja, another chief of the same family, apparently the predecessor of Sōmēśvara, was put down by a general of Kannara. It is not improbable that Sōmēśvara also continued his hostilities towards the king, with the result that he was killed in the battle.<sup>68</sup> The latest date known for this chief is 1260 A.D.<sup>69</sup> and the fight must have taken place after this date. This

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67 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, n. 210, verse 10.

68 Cousins is <sup>e</sup> the opinion that a hero stone at Borivili near Bombay represents this fight.

69 . . . Vol. XXIII, pp. 279 ff.

is the last known prince of the family. Probably Sōmēśvara had no issues to succeed him. Along with the Śilāhāra territories of South Koṅkaṇ and Kolhapur, the northern Koṅkaṇ also formed a regular part of the Sēūpa kingdom.

Subordinate Officials:

Among the officials and generals, mention may be made of Chaṭṭarasa and Kūcharasa, who, as has been already noted, joined the service of the Sēūpas during the reign of Kannara. But in Mahādēva's time they rose in power and position. An inscription of 1268 A.D. <sup>70</sup> represents them as the sons of a Nimbīrāja and another record of 1271 A.D. <sup>71</sup> supplies their mother's name as Mallāmbikā. They had also a sister <sup>an elder sister</sup> elder to them, by name Mallubāyi, whose husband was a certain Dāyiga. The undated record which furnishes this information mourns the death of the latter's son Sēna <sup>72</sup> who died very young. In 1268 A.D. both the brothers were in charge of the province of Noḷambavādi 32000, headquarters of which was Bētūru. Chaṭṭarasa had a son named Chāvunḍa who also was in the service of the Sēūpas. Kūcharasa's wife was Lakshmīdēvi. The inscription of 1271 A.D. referred to above states that in commemoration of the death of this pious lady, Kūcharasa constructed a jinālaya named after her as Lakshmī-jinālaya. The son of this

70 Ep.Garn., Vol.VII, C1 21.

71 Ibid., Vol.XI, Dg 13.

72 Ibid. Dg.8:

Suridāṣi(vu) hūvina māḷasa-

l-sura-duṇḍuphi mōḷase māḷu Sēnanana-

nt-ā Surakēṇṇae(kanne)var-olīd-o-

yḍaru sura-lōkade sukhaman-ayḍiden paramārttham ||

righteous couple was Vēnarasa whose valour and devotion to the Jaina faith the <sup>same</sup> ~~very~~ inscription eulogises. A record of 1264 A.D. states that Kūcharasa made a grant to the cause of Śaiva religion <sup>73</sup> also.

Tipparasa was another minister who took to Sēūna service from the days of Kannara. He figures in inscriptions dated in 1255 A.D., <sup>74</sup> 1268 <sup>75</sup> and 1269 A.D.

Vittharasa, Viṭṭhaladēva or Viṭṭhala-dandānāyaka, it seems, was an officer under Tipparasa, for he is described in the inscription of 1269 A.D. referred to above as the rājyabharabhāra-nistā-raka of mahāpradhāna sarvādhikāri Tipparasa. Two records of 1265 <sup>76</sup> A.D. call him mahāpradhāna and rājadandānātha and indicate that he was in charge of the district of Nūrubāda, the headquarters of <sup>77</sup> which was Raṭṭahallī. Two other inscriptions of the same date <sup>78</sup> introduce a Viṭhaladēvarasa, the son of Hemādī-dēvarasa and there is hardly any doubt regarding his identification with Viṭṭ- <sup>79</sup> hala-dandānāyaka. One other inscription of 1268 A.D. states that he joined Baligadēva, another Sēūna general who was leading <sup>80</sup> the army against Kavadēva. An inscription of 1270 A.D. designates him sarvādhikāri and mahāpradhāna.

73 Ibid., Dg.97.

74 Ibid., Dg.102.

75 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.86.

76 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, Nos.B 545 and 546.

77 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.162-63.

78 He figures in another inscription of 1266 A.D. (Ibid., Dg. 172). The Śaka year 1180 given in this record is a mistake for 1183).

79 Ibid., Vol.VII, Sk.41. 80 A.R.S.I.E.1935-36, B.K.No.81.

Mahāpradhāna Dēvarasa or Dēvarāja was also a prominent figure in the Sēūna administration. An inscription of 1263 A.D. indicates that he was placed as the governor of Banavāsi. The record states that this province was given to him by the king who was pleased with his service. The Saṅgur inscription of 1265 A.D. states that he belonged to the Vasishṭha-gōtra and that his father and grandfather were respectively Amitarasa and Chaṇḍarasa. It is further stated that he was governing the southern country (dakshina-bhuvam) at the orders of Mahādēva. In the Hāvēri inscription of the same date figures a Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikari Dēvarasa of Toragale who can be safely identified with this Dēvarasa. It seems that he hailed from Toragale which is modern Torgal in Belgaum District. The Mādarasa was the Samasta-rāja-bhara-bhara-nistāraka of Dēvarasa. An inscription from Kolhapur belonging to 1260-61 A.D. introduces a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jallaṇadēva whom there is no ground to identify with famous Jalhana, the general of Kannara and the author of Sūktimuktāvalī. Some area in the present Bellary region was, it seems, under a general name <sup>d</sup>Sōyidēva, who figures in two records from that area.

Famous in many respects was Hēmādri. He held an important office in the Sēūna government as Srikarānādhīpa (Officer in charge of accounts). He was a noted author also. His works on Dharmasāstra have ~~remained~~ remained as

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81 A.R.I.E., 1945-46, No. B 263.

82 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXIII, pp.194 ff.

83 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.86.

84 Kundangar: Inscriptions from North Karnatak and Kolhapur State, p No.19.

85 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.11, Nos.373-74.

guide for generations and they are known after him as Hemādriśāstra  
The style of archet<sup>rec</sup>ture known after him as Hemādanti style speaks  
of his genius as a builder also. To the students of Sūna his-  
tory, <sup>his works are</sup> ~~the~~ particularly valuable. He has tried to narrate the  
history of that dynasty from the very origin down <sup>to</sup> his own times.  
Though the narration has many lapses, particularly in the ear-  
lier part of it, its great historical value cannot be denied. He  
gives us good many details which are not known from other sources,  
and which would have otherwise remained as gaps never to be filled  
in. He continued in office during the period of the next ruler  
Rāmachandra also.

The queen of Mahādēva was Vaijāyi. She built a temple of  
Vaijanātha at Paithan. <sup>86</sup> Mahādēva lived till the middle of the year  
1271 A.D. The latest date for him is found in an inscription at  
Hirekenati in Hirekerur taluk of Dharwar District. This record is  
dated in his 12th regnal year Prajāpati, [Jyē]shtha ba<sup>1</sup>ll, Friday,  
corresponding to 1271 A.D., June 5. <sup>87</sup> He must have died <sup>a</sup> few months  
later, at any rate before the month of January of the next year,  
i.e. 1272 A.D. in which month is dated the earliest known record  
of the next king. <sup>88</sup> It is likely that he <sup>might</sup> have died soon after

86 J.I.H., Vol.V, p.202. 87 A.R.I.E. 1957-58, No.B 280.

88 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, pp.314 ff. A broken inscription from  
Kannamangala (Ep.Carn., Vol.IX, Cp.171) refers itself to the reign  
of a Mahādēvarasa and is dated in Śaka 1214, Khara, with no other  
details, the given date Śaka (to be taken as current) coincides  
with 1291-92 A.D. This is too late a date for Sūna Mahādēva. The  
record is broken and no other details are available. It is doubt-  
ful if it belongs to Sūna Mahādēva. ~~at all.~~



June 1271 A.D. since in between these two dates came to the Sēūpa throne his own son Āmaṇa, who in a few months time was killed by his cousin, Rāmachandra, the son of Kannara.

Inscriptions:

While narrating the account of Mahādēva in his Dynasties, Fleet could get only eighteen records but till now double this number have been discovered which enable us to know more about the activities of the king.

If Singhapa's was a rule of expansion, ~~but~~ that of his grandsons was <sup>one</sup> of consolidating <sup>on</sup>. No new area was annexed to the Sēūpa kingdom, except that Konkana came directly under their rule, <sup>after</sup> ~~since~~ the Śilāhāra family became extinct. Similarly, the Sēūpa influence grew in the South, in Chitradurg District, as can be seen from the records of these two kings found there.

The rule that followed was that of Rāmachandra, the son of Kannara, after a lapse of a very brief period when Mahādēva's son Āmaṇa occupied the throne. He was, however, soon killed. Rāmachandra's fights with the neighbouring countries did not profit <sup>him</sup> much; on the other hand, they only helped to weaken his power. To add, he had to lose some parts of his territory on the eastern border. Thus during his period, the Sēūpa kingdom set foot on the decline.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE DECLINE

#### Āmaṇa and Rāmachandra

##### I. ĀMAṆA

#### The Third Civil War:

After the death of Mahādēva in the last quarter of 1271 A.D., the succession went to his son Āmaṇa. But Āmaṇa's rule lasted hardly for a few months. Rāmachandra, the son of Kannara, overthrew Āmaṇa and forcibly occupied the Sēūṇa throne. This civil war is the third of its kind in the Sēūṇa kingdom, the second and the first, it may be recalled, having taken place when Bhīllama V and Sēūṇachandra II respectively seized the kingship from their dāvādins. The reasons<sup>s</sup> for this third incident are also not far to seek. The succession generally goes to the eldest son and then descends to his son. In consonance with this practice, of the two grandsons of Singhaṇa, Kannara the elder, succeeded him and it was but natural that after Kannara, the rulership should have gone to his son Rāmachandra. But Mahādēva who was already ruling jointly with Kannara, became fullfledged king after the latter's death. It is not unlikely that Rāmachandra was quite young then. But after the death of Mahādēva his son Āmaṇa claimed the throne and this naturally enraged Rāmachandra who resolved to seize power from Āmaṇa. But it appears that his task was not easy as Āmaṇa too had a <sup>good</sup> a/

following and this must have discouraged Rāmachandra to decide the issue in a fair and open way. The Paithan plates<sup>1</sup> say that Rāmachandra snatched his own kingdom (svam-avanim) from Āmaṇa thus hinting that Rāmachandra was the rightful heir. The Purushottampuri plates state that he tried to occupy the fort of Dēvagiri by force, but being unable to do so, he resorted to the cunning ~~of~~ means of entering the fort in disguise of a dancer and attacked Āmaṇa and his followers, who were completely taken unaware.<sup>2</sup> The account found in Lilācharitra,<sup>3</sup> a contemporary work of the Mahānu-bhāvi sect, shows that the revolution was a major one. Following the occupation of the fort by Rāmachandra and the possible slaughter of Āmaṇa (he was blinded by Rāmachandra according to Lilācharitra), panic spread throughout the capital and there was an exodus of ~~many~~ people, of whom <sup>many</sup> ~~many~~ were wounded. But the resolute Rāmachandra succeeded in obtaining the kingdom of which he was the rightful owner and continued to rule for over two decades.

It appears that in this civil war, Hoysala Narasimha sided with Āmaṇa. The Lilācharitra, while describing the revolution, states that a Narasimhadēva ran away (Narasimhadēvo palālā). Gupte thought that this Narasimhadēva might be Āmaṇa's son or relative or even the minister or general.<sup>4</sup> But it appears more plausible to identify him with Hoysala Narasimha III. It is however, to be noted that no epigraphic record testifies to this incident.

1 Op.cit., text line 46.

2 Op.cit., verse 14.

3 J.I.H., Vol.V, pp.201 ff.

4 Ibid., p.200.

## II. RĀMACHANDRA

### Accession:

Though thus it is almost certain that Rāmachandra ascended the throne towards the end of 1271 A.D., his inscriptions however are not unanimous in this respect. In fact according to these records the date of the commencement of his reign varies from 1269 to 1273 A.D.<sup>5</sup> There also are <sup>o</sup> few records which propose to count the first year of his reign as early as from 1267 A.D.<sup>6</sup> <sup>and</sup> even from

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5 Seven inscriptions give the regnal year as 1269 A.D. They are: Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Ci 24; M.A.R., 1935, No.39; Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.275, text lines 5l ff.; A.R.S.I.E., 1926, No.445; Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.26; Ibid., Vol.VII, Cb 23; A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.140.

Eleven inscriptions give the regnal year as 1270 A.D. They are: M.A.R., 1929, No.57; Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.502, 209 and 284; Ibid., Vol.VII, Sk.203, A.R.I.E., 1955-56, No.B 205, Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.198; A.R.S.I.E., 1927-28, B.K.No.66; Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.247; Ibid., Sb.93; A.R.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 423.

Thirteen inscriptions give the regnal year as 1271 A.D. They are: Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.192; S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.379; Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.140, Ibid., Sk.122; Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sb.208, A.R.I.E., 1946-47, No.B 232; A.R.S.I.E., 1934-35, B.K.No.52; A.R.I.E., 1960-61, No.B 432; Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.141; A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.23; Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.11; A.R.I.E., 1950-51, No.B 74; A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.107.

Six inscriptions give the regnal year as 1272 A.D. They are: A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.72; Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.160; Ibid., Sa.86; Ibid., Vol.VII, Sk.160; S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.376,

1275 A.D.<sup>7</sup> One inscription purports to take this date to as late  
as 1307 A.D.<sup>8</sup> It is apparent that dating in such cases is wrong.

This sort of discrepancy regarding the counting of the regnal years is a strange phenomenon, almost common to all the kings of the Sēūṇa dynasty and this phenomenon cannot be explained with precision. On the ground of so early a date for Rāmachandra, it is not possible to push back the last date of Mahādēva and of the revolution that followed. Since we have a clear date in June 1271 A.D. for Mahādēva and the <sup>next</sup> earliest record of Rāmachandra is dated in January 1272 A.D. and since the assassination of Āmapa took place only after the death of Mahādēva, it is but proper to place the change of succession and the seizure of power by Rāmachandra within these two dates.

It is, however, possible that Rāmachandra's association with the affairs of the kingdom when Mahādēva was still alive, is one of the reasons for placing the commencement of his reign even before he actually ascended the throne. An inscription belonging M.A.R., 1928, No.75.

Four records give the regnal years as 1273 A.D. They are: Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.31, 34 and 101; S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.383.

6 The details of the date of this inscription are these: Year 30, Vilambi, Āshāḍha 'su.3, Thursday = 1298 A.D., June 12, f.d.t .33 (A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.85). An inscription gives this date as 1268 A.D. (A.R.S.I.E., 1951-52, No.B 81). The details are, year 15, Chitrabānu, Bhādrapada = 1282 A.D., August-September. The tithi and week-day are lost.

7 A.R.S.I.E., 1941-42, B.K.No.49; Year 20, Jaya, Āshāḍha 'su.5, Thursday = 1294 A.D., June 29. The weekday was Tuesday.

8 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.295. 9 Ibid., Vol.XI, Dg.13.

to the last year (i.e. 1271 A.D.) of Mahādēva refers to Rāmachandra also. In <sup>the</sup> course of giving the genealogy the record mentions Mahādēva and immediately after figures Rāmadēva, the son of Kannara. It describes the valour of Rāmadēva also. But in the grant portion it is clearly stated that Kūcharasa, the subordinate of Mahādēva, obtained the village from the auspicious hands of Vīra Mahādēva and then granted it to the jinālaya constructed by him. This indicates that in the last days of Mahādēva, Rāmachandra did take active part in the <sup>administration.</sup> ~~activities of the latter.~~

It also follows from this that Rāmachandra was also recognised as the heir. But perhaps after the death of Mahādēva his son Āmaṇa forced himself on the throne which necessitated Rāmachandra to oust him.

#### Conquests:

Rāmachandra, like his predecessors, bore enmity with all the neighbouring countries. But the conditions in these states, particularly in the northern ones had considerably changed by the time he came to <sup>the</sup> throne. The menace of the Muslims had grown ~~in his time~~ <sup>already</sup> ~~much~~ and the Paramāra and the Gūjara kingdoms had <sup>already</sup> fallen a prey to their onslaughts.

#### War with the Paramāras:

Rāmachandra's inscriptions claim victory over Mālava only in a vague way. Since his earliest inscription referring to this exploit is dated in 1272 A.D., <sup>10</sup> i.e., in the wake of his coming to the throne, it suggests that he took part in the Mālava expedition

even during the reign of his predecessor Mahādēva and it may be noted in this connection that, as observed above, there is a possibility of his participating in the affairs of the kingdom<sup>even</sup> when Mahādēva<sup>11</sup> was ruling.

#### War with the Gūrjaras:

It is seen in the previous chapters that ~~and~~<sup>all</sup> of the Sēūna kings raided Gujarāt and ~~had the~~<sup>took</sup> pride ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> calling himself as Gūrjara bhayaivara or the terror to the Gūrjara king. Rāmachandra was no exception.<sup>12</sup> His Gūrjara contemporaries were Vāghēla Arjunadēva and his sons Rāma and Sāraṅgadēva. Rāma however ruled only for few months. There is evidence from the Gūrjara sources also to show that ~~there~~ occurred a conflict between the two rivals. A recently<sup>13</sup> discovered inscription of 1297 A.D. states that a certain Vijayārka the minister of Viśaladēva of Vaijavāpayāna family, defeated, single-handed, the whole army of the Yādava king and made himself as though a barring door (kavāṭa) to the soldiers of the South. This Viśaladēva, the record says, pleased the Gūrjara king Arjuna by his valour in battles, even in his young age. The Gūrjara king Arjuna is apparently the Vāghelā king of that name and the contemporary of

11 The Kadare inscription of Rāmachandra (M.A.R., 1925, No.69) in a long list<sup>of</sup> epithets contains a reference to his conquest of Arjuna of Mālava. This Arjuna is identified with Arjunavarman II. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, p.145; Ganguli, op.cit., pp.228-29.) But this identification is not correct since the prāsasti containing this and other epithets refers to the conquest of Bhōja of Pannāla, king of Varāṭa, Kakalla<sup>k</sup> etc. which were achieved by Singhana. The prāsasti therefore has nothing to do with Rāmachandra. Arjuna of Mālava referred to therein is Arjunavarman I whom Singhana defeated.

12 His Purushōttampuri and other plates give him such titles.

Rāmachandra. Viśaladēva was his feudatory. The feat of Vijayārka described in the record obviously refers to an attack of the Sēūna army, Rāmachandra being the Yādava king referred to. Viśaladēva was the governor of Nandapura which was on the banks of Narmadā, the northern boundary of the Sēūnas. The description that Vijayārka, the minister of Viśaladēva, was like a barring door to the army of the south, i.e. the Sēūna army, indicates that he came into a clash with the latter when they tried to penetrate into the Gūrjara territory. <sup>The</sup> <sup>14</sup> Cintra prasasti refers to Sārangadēva's subduing the Yādava king.

Such fights among the Hindu kings only hastened the mutual fall. It is at this very time that Gujarāt was again invaded by the Muslims, probably by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bulban, who, however, was re- <sup>15</sup> pulsed by Sārangadēva.

War with the Kākatīyas:

Rāmachandra however met with stiff <sup>o i</sup> <sup>^</sup> opposition in his encounters with his eastern rivals, the Kākatīyas. We have seen in the earlier chapter that Mahādēva did not succeed in acquiring any territory of the Kākatīyas and <sup>that</sup> possibly he suffered a set back. <sup>tried in that direction</sup> Rāmachandra ~~wanted to make good of it~~, but with no success. The Sēūna records are silent about any definite invasion by Rāmachandra of the Āndhra country but copious references to the Sēūnas in the Kākatīya records and also in Pratāparudrayasobhūṣṇa <sup>that</sup> suggest that fierce battles took place between the two armies and <sup>that</sup> the Sēūnas had to retreat. It is very likely that Rāmachandra helped the

13 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXII, pp.220 ff.

14 Ep.Ind., Vol.I, p.271.

15 A.K.Majumdar, op.cit., p.183.



insurgent and rebellious feudatories of the Kākatīya queen. One such dissident ~~Kākatīya~~ feudatory was the Kāyastha chief Ambadēva who, taking advantage of the uncertain conditions in the Kākatīya kingdom, caused by the Pāṇḍya and <sup>the</sup> Chōlas and the rebellious chiefs within the kingdom, tried to become an independent ruler. It can be gathered from his inscriptions, which mention no overlord, that he fairly succeeded in his endeavour. In one of his records, dated 1290 A.D. which enumerates his conquests over good many feudatories of Rudrāmbā, it is stated that he was adorned by the ornaments of jewels and gold sent by the king of Dēvagiri, i.e., Sēūṇa Rāmachandra <sup>16</sup> (Dēvagirirāya-prasthāpita-prābhrita-maṇi-kanaka-bhūṣaṇa). This shows that when Ambadēva rebelled against the Kākatīya throne, Rāmachandra encouraged him by sending <sup>m</sup> his present and thereby giving him moral support for his designs. It is not clear, however, if he sent any army also; but that step was taken by the Pāṇḍya king, another adversary of the Kākatīyas, ~~whose~~ whose elephants and horses were added to the army of Ambadēva, as is stated in the same inscription. But Ambadēva's independence did not last long. Kumāra Rudradēva, the grandson of Rudrāmbā, whom she appointed heir-apparent, was an ambitious and valiant prince and <sup>he</sup> was bent upon subduing all the dissident forces in the kingdom. In the year 1291 A.D. he attacked Ambadēva when the army was headed by Rudrāmbā herself. Ambadēva was forced to submit and his territory round about Tripurāntakam became a part of <sup>the</sup> Kākatīya kingdom. <sup>17</sup>

Simultaneously with an expedition against Ambadēva, Kumāra Rudra sent ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> contingents of <sup>his</sup> armies to other directions, apparently

16 S.I.I., Vol.X, No.465.

17 Yazdani (Ed); The Early History of the Deccan, p.635.

to stop ~~any~~ possible assistance that might flow to Āmbadēva, from the latter's allies. Consequently <sup>one contingent</sup> ~~a fleet~~ marched towards the Sēūpa borders, under the leadership of Viṭṭhala-daṇḍanātha, a subordinate of Gōna Gonnaya Redḍi, who called himself Kākatīya-kāṭaka-sannāha and Rudradēva-dakṣiṇa-bhujadanda. Viṭṭhala penetrated into the Sēūpa territory and was able to capture the forts of Ādavāni, Tumbūḷa, Hāluva and Mānuva and entered Raichur where he built a fort. The authenticity of this information cannot be doubted since an inscription narrating this <sup>event</sup> is built into the wall of the fort at Raichur, apparently the <sup>same</sup> ~~one~~ built by Viṭṭhala-daṇḍanātha.<sup>18</sup> This record is dated on the 25th day of November 1294 A.D. which may be the date of the completion of the building of the fort. This shows that Rāmachandra lost some of his territory to the Kākatīyas and this must have taken place some time in 1292 A.D. or so, presuming that at least two years earlier the construction of the fort had started. It is likely that two other Kākatīya chiefs also took part in this expedition. They were Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla who is described as the one who burnt the Sēūpa forces (Sēūpa-kāṭaka-vēnuka-balana-dāva-pāvaka)<sup>19</sup> and Prōlanāyaka, who also is praised as the lion to the deer viz., Sēūpas (Sēūpa-harīna-pāñchānana).<sup>20</sup> It is probable that Rāmachandra could not get back this territory and this set back was perhaps the forerunner of the doom that was to fall on the Sēūpa kingdom in the form of the Muslim army led by Allā-ud-Dīn Khalḡi.

#### War with the Hoysalas:

Most of Rāmachandra's time, particularly the early part of

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18 A.B.I.E. 1957-58, No.B 383; Kākatīya Sanchika, Appendix, No.33.

19 <sup>83-84,</sup> Kākatīyas of Warangal, p 20 I b.d.

his career was spent in warfare with his southern neighbour, the Hoysala. The protracted fights were of advantage to neither and it appears that though Rāmachandra's army penetrated deep into the Hoysala land, the Hoysala could retaliate equally strongly and was able to push back the Sēūna. Conditions at this time in Hoysala country also were in a disturbed state. The two sons of Sōmēśvara who were in charge of the two halves of the kingdom had no unity between them. Rāmanātha, who was placed in charge of the Hoysala territory of Tamil districts, bore a grudge<sup>g</sup> against his brother Narasiṃha III and frequently raised arms against him. Among the minor chiefs, the Irūṅṅōla Chōlas of Heñjēru tried to free themselves of the Hoysala yoke. Thus Narasiṃha had troubles both internal and external and this naturally contributed to the gradual decline of the Hoysala power.

In the last year of Mahādēva, i.e. 1271 A.D., the Sēūna arm<sup>y</sup> had invaded the Hoysala territory but was made to 'retreat in one night' by Narasiṃha. But the Sēūna offensive started again during the next few years. The first<sup>of</sup> such campaigns was led to Dōrasamudra<sup>21</sup> before 1275 A.D., March, probably by Jāyanāyaka, of Hāvēri. Details about this expedition are not however known except that a hero died in the battle. But a more vigorous attack was staged<sup>Soon</sup> in the very next year, i.e. 1276 A.D., by three prominent generals of Rāmachandra<sup>a</sup> viz., Sāluva Tikkama, Jōyadēva and Haripāla. The ~~campaign~~<sup>battle</sup> seems to have started in the beginning of that year itself, for the first<sup>22</sup> reference to it is found in a record of February 21, 1276 A.D.

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21 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.77.

22 Ep.Carn., Vol.V, B1 No.167.

Inscriptions of subsequent dates such as of April 5,<sup>23</sup> and 25,<sup>24</sup>  
<sup>25</sup> May 8 and <sup>26</sup> 10 and <sup>27</sup> June 7 in the same year indicate that the  
 battle was fought fiercely. The Sēūṇa army went very near the  
 Hoysaḷa capital Dōrasamudra and camped at Beḷavāḍi about ~~for~~ four  
 and a half miles from there. The Sēūṇa army was joined by the  
 Irūṅgōḷa Chōḷa.<sup>28</sup> On the Hoysaḷa side, mahāpradhāna Chikṣa Kṛtaya-  
 daṇḍanāyaka led the army and the inscriptions record the death of  
 a number of his officers in the fight. ~~One of~~ The heroes Gullaya-  
 nāyaka and Nañjeya are credited to have pushed back the Sēūṇa army  
 from Beḷavāḍi to Dummi, though they died in the battle. The ins-  
<sup>29</sup>cription which gives a graphic description of the fight, states  
 that Sāḷuva Tikkama boasted that he would conquer Dōrasamudra in a  
 minute but that his attempts were foiled by Aṅkanāyaka who had lost  
 his son in the very battle. He pounced on the Sēūṇa army so fierce-  
 ly that Haripāḷa lost his courage. The Sāḷuva had to flee and pro-  
 bably Jōyadēva fell in the battle. The record purports to say that  
 the Sāḷuva general had to shift his camp from Beḷavāḍi and finally

23 Ibid., Hn 49.

24 Ibid., Bl No.164.

25 Ibid., Bl. No.165.

26 Ibid., Bl. No.120.

27 M.A.R., 1937, p.147, No.23. The different dates referring to  
 the same battle apparently are the dates on which memorial stones in  
 honour of different heroes who lost their lives in the battle were  
 erected.

28 Ep.Carn., Vol.V, Bl Nos.164-65.

29 Ibid., Bl No.165.

retreat. Still another hero who took part in the battle was Khandeyarāya Rāṇeya who pursued the Sēūṇa soldiers up to Dūmṇi.<sup>29a</sup>

Thus the Battle of Belavāḍi so fiercely fought on both the sides proved a victory for the Hoysaḷas. The Sēūṇa version of the battle however is quite opposite. The Harihar inscription of 1277 A.D.<sup>30</sup> claims that Sāḷuva Tikkama successfully completed the campaign against Dōrasamudra by capturing it and also by taking into possession numerous elephants, horses and many other precious articles. The record further states that on his way back from the southern campaign, he halted at Harihara and, pleased with the place, built a temple of Lakshminārāyaṇa, in the memory of his former master Sēūṇa Mahādēva.<sup>31</sup> The Sāḷuva's claim regarding the capture of Dōrasamudra is however a tall boast. We do not know who this Haripāḷa is, that attacked the Hoysaḷa army together with Jōyḍēva and Sāḷuva Tikkama. It is not impossible that he is Haripāḷadēva or Harpāl Dev of the Muslim chronicles, who was the son-in-law of Rāmachandra.

In the meantime, another trouble was awaiting the Sēūṇa in the eastern part of the country. This was in the Bellary District in the area round about Kūmmaṭa, which (area) was being governed by Mūmmuḍi Siṅgeyanāyaka, who seems to have been an ally of Hoysaḷa. The Sēūṇa army was first sent against him in the beginning of the

29a MCA.R., 1937, p.148.

30 Ibid., Vol.II, Dg No.59.

31 Ibid., lines 53-54.

year 1280 A.D. under the general Chaudarasa. Near about Kumrugōḍ<sup>32</sup> the rival armies met and in the encounter Chaudarasa lost his life. A memorial in honour of the late lamented general was set up on the 1st of February of that year.<sup>33</sup> Singeya was naturally flattered by the victory and continued his hostilities towards the Sēūṇa, which necessitated another invasion of his territory. This time Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kāṇṇaradēva led the Sēūṇa army and the battle ensued at Doravadi.<sup>34</sup> It resulted in the death of Vōṇarasa, the son of Kūcharasa. The latter, we have seen<sup>35</sup> was a trusted general of Mahādēva, the predecessor of Rāmachandra. The result of the war does not seem to have been favourable for the Sēūṇas. This was in the year 1283 A.D. Still another expedition, this time to Kummata, the headquarters of Mummudi Siṅgeya was led in 1287 A.D. The name of the leader of Sēūṇa contingent is lost in the record,<sup>35</sup> but it is stated that the march was ordered by Dāmanāyaka, an officer of Rāmachandra. The hero seems to have had a bloody fight with the enemy but died, probably after the return to Dāmanāyaka's headquarters Huligere, i.e. modern Lakshmēśvar. Dāmanāyaka commemorated the death of his heroic general by setting up a memorial and granting a nettar-gey.

#### Other Conquests:

Some inscriptions ascribe to Rāmachandra ~~some~~ more victories. For instance, the Purushōttampuri plates state that he con-

32 Modern village of the same name in Bellary District.

33 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Ci 24.

34 M.A.R., 1935, p.114, No.39.

35 A.R.E.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.23.

quered the kings of Dāhala, Bhāṇḍāgāra, Vajrākara, Palli and Kānya-kubja. He is further stated to have overran Kailāsa and subdued the king of Māhima. It is added that he expelled the Muslims from Vāraṇasī and built a temple of Sāraṅgapāṇi in that city. He is also stated to have destroyed the kings of Sangama and Khēṭa. Though many of these victories are more conventional than real, we may mention ~~and~~ here some of them.

#### Chiefs of Bhāṇḍāgāra And Vajrākara:

The chiefs of Bhāṇḍāgāra and Vajrākara, whom Rāmachandra claims to have subdued, must be some petty chiefs holding sway over some districts in the Vidarbha area. Bhāṇḍāgāra has been identified with Bhāṇḍāra <sup>36</sup> the headquarters of the District of that name in the present Maharashtra. Vajrākara <sup>37</sup> is said to be the same as Vairāgarh in the Chanda District, also in Maharashtra. It may be recalled in this connection that Siṅghana also put down some petty chiefs in the Vidarbha area.

#### Pallirāja and Other Kings:

It is not possible to identify Pallirāja, or the king of Palli. Mirashi suggests that he might have been a chief of some hill in the Vindhya mountain. But a later inscription of Śaka 1410, from Dohad mentions a Pallidēsa and the editor of the record <sup>38</sup> suggests that it may be the same as Pāli in Godhrā taluk in Gujarat.

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36 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 206.

37 Ibid., see also foot note 1.

38 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 221.

It may be that it was being governed by some chief in the period of Rāmachandra. The raid of Kailāsa and the conquest of Kānyakubja or Kanauj sounds ~~just~~ eulogistic on the face of it. The latter country had since long <sup>been</sup> occupied by the Muslims and there was no possibility of Rāmachandra's going so far north with his army. Similarly is the episode of the capture of Vārāṇasī. The suggestion that this expedition of Rāmachandra must have taken place in the period between 1285 to 1290 A.D. <sup>39</sup> is improbable. <sup>39</sup>

The King of Māhima:

Rāmachandra is credited with <sup>a</sup> victory over the king of Mahima. This Māhima is the same as Māhim which is now a suburb of Bombay. Though no epigraphical record furnishes any detail, a Marathi work Mahakāvati bakhar throws some light on this military <sup>ad</sup> venture of Rāmachandra. According to this work, the chief of Māhima was a certain Nāgarasa who was then at war with his brothers-in-law, in order to get possession of Thāṇā from them. Rāmachandra sided with his adversaries. But Nāgarasa's son Tripurāntaka faced the Sēūṇa army at Kelavēn where a fierce battle was fought. The Sēūṇa army ~~back~~ took refuge in the fort of Māhuli. Tripurāntaka pushed the enemy <sup>back</sup> and in the battle <sup>of</sup> Hēmādpant (i.e., Hēmādri) the minister of Rāmachandra was defeated. The work adds that Rāmachandra's son Bimbadeva (i.e. Bhillama VI) later on established himself at <sup>40</sup> Māhima. Sangama and Khēṭa, whose rulers Rāmachandra is stated to have overthrown are identified with Saṅgamēśvara and Khēḍ in Ratna- <sup>41</sup> giri District of Maharashtra. These were apparently some petty

39 Ibid., p.207.

40 Mahakāvati Bakhar, Introduction, pp.41 ff.

41 Ep. Ind., Vol.XXV, p.207.



chiefs of Konkan area.

Subordinate Officials:

Among the feudatory families, the Guttas of Guttavolal were prominent. Vikramāditya V of that family was the subordinate of Rāmachandra.<sup>42</sup> The Kadamba contemporary of Rāmachandra was Kāva-deva. Sāluva Tikkama, the general of Rāmachandra, appears to have assisted Kāvadēva<sup>43</sup> in some battle, as is indicated by Tikkama's title Kadamba-rāya-sthāpanāchārya.<sup>44</sup> A damaged record of Rāmachandra refers to a Kādambanripāla<sup>45</sup> or the Kadamba king whose name is lost, as his feudatory. It may not be wrong to identify this Kādambanripāla with Kāvadēva.

Some chiefs, claiming to belong to the Sinda family of Belagutti, also were subordinates of Rāmachandra. One of them was Madhukarayya, who figures in a hero-stone of 1289 A.D.<sup>46</sup> He seems to have taken part in a local feud. Another was Kāmeya who figures in two records,<sup>47</sup> both of Rāmachandra.

Among the officials, the most prominent was mahāmandalēśvara Tikkama who belonged to the Sāluva family which may be the same as the family which attained regal status two centuries later. Tikkama played an important role in the southern campaigns of Rāmachandra

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42 See Appendix II.

43 Mores: Kadamba Kula, pp.154 ff. Mores's surmise that Kāvadēva helped Tikkama in the latter's campaign against the Hoysala has no basis.

44 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.59.

45 A.R.S.I.E., 1941-42, B.K.No.42.

46 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.209.

47 Ibid., Sb. 295 and 298.

and claims to have laid bare the Hoysala capital Dōrasamudra. He joined the Sēūṇa service during the time of Mahādēva himself, in whose memory he built a temple at Harihara in 1277 A.D. In 1280<sup>48</sup> A.D., he fixed a golden pinācle (Kalāśa) over the temple. He figures as Tikkamadēva-rāṇeya along with his minister mahāpradhāna<sup>49</sup> Kēsava-paṇḍita, in an inscription of 1297 A.D.

Two other members of the Sāluva family were also in the Sēūṇa service. One of them was Vīra Chāuṇḍa, who was one of the donors of a grant made in 1289 A.D. to a jīnālaya at Dambal, in Mundargi taluk<sup>50</sup> of Dharwar District. The other one was mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ācharasa<sup>51</sup> or Ācharasa-paṇḍita. In an inscription the date of which is lost, he is styled as sainyādhīpati, i.e. the commandant of the army, and is given the epithet Hoysanarāya-vibhāda. It is likely that he took part in one of the expeditions to the Hoysala country. In another record of 1298 A.D., he is found instructing his subordinate official Mādayya, a tax-officer, to make certain grants of taxes to<sup>52</sup> god Siddhanāthadēva at agrahāra Hāvēri. The relation between these two chiefs and Tikkama is not known.

Another general of the name Vīra-Chaudarasa occurs in two inscriptions; probably he was different from the Sāluva general of that name. One of the inscriptions calls him as the son of Chaṭṭa-<sup>53</sup> rasa. During Mahādēva's time he was still young and therefore<sup>54</sup> was called Kumāra Chaudarasa; but during the time of Rāmachandra

48 Ibid., Vol.XI, Dg.59.

49 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.387.

50 A.R.S.I.E., 1944-45, B.K.No.7.

51 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.B 97.

52 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.85.

he was placed at the head of a contingent of <sup>the</sup> Sēūṇa army and in 1280 A.D. he led his army to Doravaḍi in Kurugōḍ-nāḍ, to quell the rebellion caused by Mummudi Siṅgeya-nāyaka. In this battle, Chaudarasa lost his life.<sup>55</sup> It may be recalled here that Chaudarasa's father Chaṭṭarasa was a prominent figure in the Sēūṇa administration during the time of Mahādēva. In the reign of Rāmachandra a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chaṭṭarasa is stated to have lost his life in a battle in 1292-93 A.D.<sup>56</sup> There is no clue however to connect the latter with Chaudarasa's father. Chaudarasa's uncle Kūcharasa was another dignitary under Mahādēva. His son Vōṇarasa was in the service of Rāmachandra. He took part in an attack on Mummudi Siṅgeya in 1282 A.D. but fell dead in the battle.<sup>57</sup>

Kannaradēva was placed in charge of the division of Huligere and Pāṇḍya-nāḍ, i.e. the territory around Uchchangi in Bellary District was also <sup>in</sup> ~~under~~ his jurisdiction. He was styled mahāpradhāna and sarvādhikāri.<sup>58</sup> He must be the same as mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kannaradēva who marched to Doravaḍi in Kurugōḍ-nāḍ against Mummudi Siṅgeya in 1282 A.D. He figures in another inscription in the same area, i.e., Bellary District,<sup>59</sup> in which also he is seen directing a march, against whom it is not known. In Kurugōḍ itself in Bellary District, is found an inscription of 1299 A.D. which introduces a mahā-

53 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Ci No.22.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., Ci No.24.

56 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.386.

57 M.A.R., 1935, pp.114-15, No.39.

58 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.380.

59 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.386.

60 Ibid., No.378.

mandalēsvara Kandhāradēva Kheyi-rāṇeya, belonging to Kalachurya family.<sup>60</sup> It is probable that this Kandhāradēva is identical with Kannaradēva.

Some other chiefs of similar name are found as subordinate officials of Rāmachandra. One of them is Krishṇadēva, the governor of Konkaṇa.<sup>61</sup> The other one is mahāpradhāna Karṇa, who looked after the administration of Nēsārikā area, i.e. Nausari in Surat District of Gujarat.<sup>62</sup> Though Kannara and Karṇa are Prakrit forms of Kṛishṇa, it is not, just on that ground, possible to identify the three with each other. Kannara was governing in the Bellary area, while Krishṇadēva was in Konkaṇa. Again, the jurisdiction of Karṇa was in Surat District. Transfers of officers from one district to another were not uncommon but it is doubtful, in this case, if they were one and the same.

Krishṇadēva's <sup>Successor</sup> (was) to Konkaṇa area was Jāyidēva who was the governor in 1300 A.D.<sup>63</sup> It is however, doubtful if he is the same as Jōyanāyaka who led an expedition to Dōrasamudra in 1275 A.D. Before Krishṇadēva, Konkaṇa was governed by Achyutanāyaka, son of Mūdhugi and grandson of Jalhana.<sup>64</sup> The Vēlāpur inscription introduces a sarvādhikāri Jōyidēva and his subordinate officers, Brahmadēva and Baidēva, who were brothers.<sup>65</sup> Brahmadēva seems to have been the sarvādhikāri of Māṇadēśa, while<sup>ch</sup> it is difficult to identify satisfactorily.

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61 Bom.Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.ii, pp.530-32.

62 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 280.

63 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXIII, p.282.

64 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIII, p.199.

65 S.M.H.D., Vol.I, pp.78 ff. and Vol.II, pp.9 ff.

Lakshmidēva-daṇḍanāyaka was the sarvādhikāri of a certain <sup>66</sup> Vāsudēva in 1276 A.D. He figures in an inscription of 1286 A.D. <sup>67</sup> wherein he is stated to be the son-in-law of mahāpradhāna Śrīdhara and probably the grandson of Viṭhala-daṇḍanāyaka. Another date for him is 1291 A.D. <sup>68</sup> The latter Viṭhala-daṇḍanāyaka, it appears is the same as his namesake, who was the sarvādhikāri of mahāmaṇḍalēśvara <sup>69</sup> Jaitapāladēva-rāṇeya, in 1304 A.D. A certain Dēva-rāṇeya was governing Sindavādi in 1287 A.D. <sup>70</sup> and another Dēvāya-nāyaka was the sarvādhikāri in the same year. <sup>71</sup> Another sarvādhikāri Jakkarasa <sup>72</sup> appears in a record of 1286 A.D., together with mahāmaṇḍalēśvara <sup>74</sup> Jagadala Nācharasa, who also has a date in 1279 A.D. seems to be the same as Hemādīdēva, styled as Paramaviśvāsi and mahā-durgādhipati in 1279 A.D. <sup>75</sup> Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kumāra Bommarasa seems to <sup>76</sup> have had sway over some territory in Shimoga taluk in 1276 A.D. Another chief of the same name, viz., Vira Bommarasa who apparently is different from the above had the titles Chōlara-bhīma and chōla-nārāyaṇa. He is stated to be the son of Nāgarasa. Along with him figures in 1278 A.D., mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kavīṭadaka <sup>77</sup> Bhīmadēva-rāṇeya, who seems to have been governing Sindavādi. Tipparasa, who was in the service of Mahādēva continued as sarvādhikāri of Rāmachandra <sup>78</sup> who entrusted him with the territory from Rāyanakhaṇḍi up to Perdore.

66 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.376. 67 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Hl.17.

68 A.R.S.I.E. 1944-45, B.K.Nc.52 69 Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.11

70 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.384.

71 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.123.

72 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.383.

73 Ibid., No.378.

74 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb 93.

75 Ibid., Vol.XI, J1 30.

76 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sa 69-70.

77 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.377.

Mahālika Mahādēva-rāṇeya is found making a grant in 1278 A.D.<sup>79</sup>  
A certain Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rayadēva was in power in 1282 A.D.<sup>80</sup>  
Hichagē-nāḍu was in charge of mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāvugidēva-rāṇeya<sup>81</sup>  
in 1287 A.D. In 1295 A.D. mahāpradhāna and sarvādhikāri Para-<sup>82</sup>  
'surāmadēva was associated with Banavāsi. Sōyidēva-rāṇeya was<sup>84</sup>  
governing Eḍe-nāḍ in 1290 A.D. and in 1296 A.D. it was placed<sup>85</sup>  
in charge of Mēyidēva-rāṇeya. In 1306 A.D. Ranganātha was the<sup>85</sup>  
mahāpradhāna and sarvādhikāri of the king while in the same year  
mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Guṇḍamarasa seems to have been in charge of the<sup>86</sup>  
division of Tardavāḍi. Mahāpradhāna Dāmōdaradēva-rāṇeya, who is  
described as the right arm of Rāmadēvarāya (Rāmadēvarāya-dakshina-<sup>87</sup>  
bhujādaṇḍa), seems to have had his headquarters at Dhāravāḍa, which  
is modern Dharwar in Mysore State. Purushōttama-nāyaka was another  
famous minister of the king, who donated x to various brāhmanas<sup>88</sup>  
an agrahāra known after himself as Furushōttamapuri in 1310 A.D.  
He belonged to Vasistha-gōtra and his father, grandfather and great  
grandfather were Sāmvaladēva, Vināyaka and Bhānusūri respectively.  
Sāmvaladēva was employed by Rāmachandra as Kusumādhyaaksha. This  
office, it appears, was meant for regular supply of flowers to the

78 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.70.

79 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K. No.138.

80 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.57. The text of the record is faulty  
The name of the chief is doubtful.

81 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.140.

82 A.R.I.E. 1960-61, Nos.B 419-20.

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84 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.192. 85 Ibid., Sb.502.

86 Kr.Ins., Vol.II, pp.114 ff.

87 A.R.S.I.E., 1941-42, B.K.No.42.

88 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXV, pp.209 ff.

palace. Purushōttama's mother was Akkāmbikā whose father and grandfather were Sāraṅgasūri and Mādhavasūri respectively. The latter two belonged to Jāmadagnya-gōtra. The mutilated Rāmtēk inscription discloses a chief Rāghava, who seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the king. The record appears to say that Rāmachandra<sup>90</sup> entrusted him with the burden of the governance of the kingdom. The famous author Hēmādri held the office of Samasta-hastipa-kādnya-ksha and samasta-karaṇādhīpati under Rāmachandra. The Thāṇā plates of 1272 A.D. allude to his conquering Jhādi-maṇḍala. He was also <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ minister of the king. The Pūr inscription of 1285 A.D. calls him as Hēmādi-paṇḍita.<sup>91</sup> The Muslim chronicles name Harpāl Dēv, i.e. Haripālādēva as the son-in-law of Rāmachandra who was the last of the persons to revolt on behalf of his father-in-law. This Haripālādēva appears to have been <sup>serving</sup> ~~under~~ the king since long. We have seen above that a Haripālayya accompanied Sāluva Tikkama in his campaign against the Hoysalas. Further an inscription of 1314<sup>92</sup> A.D. mentions a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Haripālādēva. It is not unlikely that the latter two are identical and are the same as Harpāl Dev of the Muslim historians.

Mummudi Singeyanāyaka of Kurugōd, we have seen above, ~~(seen)~~ was quite a source of trouble for Rāmachandra, who had to spend much of his time and <sup>resources</sup> ~~way~~ to subdue him. He was a formidable ally of the

89 The name in the record is given as Akvāmbikā. But the correct form seems to be Akkāmbikā.

90 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 13 ff.

91 E. M. H. D., Vol. II, pp. 5 ff.

92 A. R. S. I. E., 1932-33, B. K. No. 119.

Hoysala and perhaps <sup>on</sup> ~~at~~ the instructions of the latter kept the Sēūna army engaged for quite a long time. But he could not continue long and had to fall to the Sēūna army. After Singeya's death, it appears, his son Khaṇḍeyarāya-rāṇeya foresook the cause of the Hoysala and transferred his allegiance to the Sēūna king <sup>of Rāmachandra's reign</sup> <sup>93</sup> as can be seen from an inscription of 1300 A.D. In his father Singeya's lifetime, he had vehemently fought the Sēūna army in the Belavāḍi and was instrumental in pushing it back from Belavāḍi to Dummi. The inscription referring to the latter fact is dated in 1276 A.D. and calls Khaṇḍeyarāṇeya as the son of Siṅga or Singaya, who can be identified with Mummudi Singeya. The editor of the record supposes, apparently on the ground that the inscription <sup>94</sup> is a hero-stone, that Khaṇḍeyarāṇeya died in the battle. The bottom portion of the record is indeed lost, but the extant portion does not refer to the death of this warrior, but only praises his valour. Further <sup>an</sup> inscription of 1300 A.D. referred to just above mentions him as renewing a grant of Harihara which was previously made by Kṛishṇa-Kaṇḍhāra, i.e. Sēūna Kannara. This clearly shows that Khaṇḍeyarāya survived the Belavāḍi battle and later on became a vassal of Rāmachandra.

#### Inscriptions:

According to Fleet's account, ~~formerly~~ only twentythree records were found for Rāmachandra. But now about <sup>a</sup> hundred and thirteen more have been discovered and they <sup>se furnish</sup> ~~help~~ us with more details regarding the activities of this Sēūna king.

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93 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg 26.

94 M.A.H., 1937, p.150.



Extent of Sēūna kingdom under Rāmachandra:

Rāmachandra's constant fights with all neighbours did not result in any expansion of territory. On the other hand, he had to lose <sup>a</sup> ~~some~~ part of it. In the north, Narmadā remained as the boundary, though some incursions now and then might have taken place by the Gūrjara and Paramāra soldiers. The Gūrjaras too repulsed the Sēūna army. The inscription of 1297 A.D., referred to earlier, states that Vijayārka, the minister of a Gūrjara vassal Viśaladēva, did not allow the southern, i.e., the Sēūna army to <sup>e</sup> ~~trāss~~ pass the Gūrjara border. With the annexation of Koṅkaṇa, the Arabian Sea had already become the western border. The eastern boundary however came to be narrowed down <sup>d</sup> in Rāmachandra's time. Singhaṇa had been able to penetrate into the Āndhra area and his records are found in Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. But the Kākatiya contemporary of Rāmachandra, Rudramadēvi, though a woman, was quite <sup>a</sup> strong an opponent for him. She not only repelled the Sēūna invasion but sent her army against him and as is indicated by the Raichur inscription, Raichur was captured by the Kākatiya general Viṭhala-danḍanāyaka and a fort was built there. In the south, there <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ no loss <sup>es</sup> and there <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ no considerable gain <sup>s</sup> either. The northern half of Shimoga District was already included in the Sēūna kingdom and probably parts of Honnālī and Channagiri taluks in that District came also under the sway of the Sēūna. But this area mostly constituted a disputed one, as is evident <sup>a</sup> from number of hero-stones found therein speaking of the numerous major and minor fights that were fought. Mahādēva's records are found in Davangere taluk of Chitaldurg District and during the reign of Rāmachandra, the Sēūna rule was firmly established there as is evident

from the Harihar inscription which records that the Sēūna general Sāluva Tikkama built a Lakshminā<sup>ā</sup>ryana temple in that place. In spite of the continuous battles he fought, Rāmachandra could not keep intact the kingdom he inherited which on the other hand showed signs of decline. Parts of eastern territory <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ lost and in the south he met with a tough enemy in the Hoysala king. This did not stop at that. Gravest of all, he had yet to face the most terrific set back at the hands of the ambitious, ~~heroic~~ and unscrupulous Muslim noble, Malik Gharshasp who later on by treacherous methods became the Sultan of Delhi as Allā-ud-Dīn Khalji. His first attack made the way clear for further inroads of his army in South India and Rāmachandra had the misfortune of seeing with his own eyes, the kingdom, ~~the kingdom~~ which his ancestors had so heroically built, meet with its downfall.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DOWNFALL

#### Last Days of Rāmachandra and Singhana III

##### I LAST DAYS OF RĀMACHANDRA

The last two decades of Rāmachandra's rule brought bad days for the Sēūna country which ultimately resulted in <sup>the</sup> extinction of that dynasty. In the beginning of 1296 A.D., Alā-ud-Dīn, the nephew of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, the Sultan of Delhi, set out ~~for~~<sup>on</sup> an expedition to Dēvagiri and plundered the whole city subjugating Rāmachandra. To assess the possible reasons for such a foreign invasion, it is worthwhile to know in passing, the affairs in Delhi, which instigated Alā-ud-dīn to turn to the South. ~~to subjugate him~~  
~~himself.~~

##### Affairs in Delhi:

Slightly before Rāmachandra ascended the throne, the throne of the Sultanate at Delhi was occupied by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bulbān, a Turkish officer in the Delhi administration who after the death of Nasīr-ud-dīn Muḥamūd in 1265 A.D., <sup>1</sup> took control of the situation and proclaimed himself the Sultan. Strong as he was, he put down the internal disorders with resoluteness and brought security in the kingdom. But in the days that followed, disorder and confusion reigned supreme. Bulbān's son Muḥammad, who was the next heir to kingdom, lost his life in the battle with <sup>the</sup> Mongols and this very much

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<sup>1</sup> The Struggle for Empire, p.148. Isvari Prasad gives the date as 1266 A.D. (History of Medieval India, 3rd Edn., p.199).

affected Bulban's plans. He intended to appoint his second son Bughā khān <sup>as the heir</sup> but the latter was not prepared to shoulder the responsibility. He quietly slipped away from the capital at the time of the death of his father. The succession then fell on Kai-Khusrau, the son of the deceased Muhammad. But the prince being too young, the king appointed his Kotwāl and Wazir to look after the young king. But <sup>after</sup> Bulban's death in 1287 A.D. <sup>the wazir</sup> manoeuvred the deposition Kai-Khusrau and seated Kaiqubād, the son of Bughrākhān, on the throne. With this, the reins of government came into the hands of the Kotwāl and his son-in-law Nāzim-ud-dīn. Kaiqubād's character was exactly opposed to that of his worthy grandfather Bulban. He was in fact just a tool in the hands of Nāzim-ud-dīn, who deliberately put the prince on the wrong path by encouraging him to lead a licentious life, always engaged with wine and women. The evil intentions of Nāzim-ud-dīn showed signs in the murder of Kai-Khusrau, in which he had a hand. But he was also put to death, at the orders of Kaiqubād, before his designs took shape. Kaiqubād could not remain king either. He had been practically in<sup>capacita</sup>ted ~~to rule~~ and the place of Nāzim-ud-dīn was taken by the two new officials Malik Kachchan and Malik Surkha. They named ~~Karim~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~moors~~ <sup>of</sup> three year old son <sup>of</sup> Kaiqubād as the king. It was at this time that Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz of the Khalji family, a prominent military official in Delhi, had become an eyesore to the new regents of the king, Kachharn and Surkha and ~~were~~ they wanted to get rid of <sup>him</sup>. Firūz sensed the danger and left Delhi. But on a later occasion when Kachchan went to his camp to invite him to the royal court, Firūz seized the opportunity and killed him. He rushed to Delhi and took possession of the infant king and also power. The pro-king element in Delhi was too weak and helpless and Firūz was

accepted as the care-taker. As though to complete his act, Firūz murdered the young prince and declared himself king in the middle of 1290 A.D. With this ended the dynasty of Bulban, and the Khalji supremacy commenced. With this again commenced an era of Muslim invasion of South India.

Jalāl-ud-dīn Khalji<sup>1</sup> usurped the throne no doubt, but he was not as resolute as his master Bulban. Unlike<sup>Bulban,</sup> Jalāl was considerate, soft<sup>2</sup> by nature and avoided bloodshed, Though he walked to the throne through blood. There were also people to take advantage of this god-fearing king whose sympathy could easily be enlisted. One such was his own nephew Malik Garshasp, who was the governor of the province of Karā. Taking advantage of the kindness of the king for him, Garshasp planned a successful trap for the king who, in spite of the repeated warning of his councillors, fell a willing prey and died at the hands of his own nephew. Malik Garshasp later on sat on the Delhi throne under the name of Alā-ud-dīn Khalji. He was the first invader<sup>e</sup> to step into South India with the sole intention of plundering. He turned out ~~in his actions~~ to be the chief cause of the destruction of the prosperous Hindu kingdoms of the South, though of course, the Hindus themselves were also responsible for their fall.

Alā-ud-dīn was an opportunist and was quite resourceful and imaginative. The lenient attitude of his uncle sufficiently encouraged him to push forth his evil designs and his appointment as governor of Karā, further helped him. In Karā he found friends that fanned his ambitions. They advised him that "it was quite possible to raise and equip a large force in Karā and through Karā to obtain Delhi."<sup>2</sup> Alā-ud-dīn's resourceful brain started working

and "he began to follow up his designs of proceeding to some distant quarter and arranging money. To this end he was constantly making inquiries about other countries from travellers and men of experience."<sup>3</sup> In 1292 A.D., two years after the coronation of Jalā-ud-dīn, Alā-ud-dīn obtained permission of the latter to attack Bhilsa whose king 'infested his province'.<sup>4</sup> The obvious intention was however different. The Bhilsa campaign doubly benefitted him. It earned for him the praise and confidence of the king and also earned the province of Audh of which he was made the governor. Further he obtained useful information regarding the "wealth and elephants of Deogir".<sup>5</sup> He then gathered details regarding the approaches to that place, Dēogir, i.e., Dēvagiri, the capital of Rāmachandra.

#### First Muslim Invasion of Dēvagiri:

Though illiterate, Alā-ud-dīn was intelligent enough to carry out his plans. Seeing that the king was much pleased with the booty he brought from Bhilsa, he sought the king's permission to lead a campaign against Chandēri 'where he could acquire great spoil with which he would pay the royal exchequer'.<sup>6</sup> He further pleaded that he may be allowed to postpone the tributes due from him<sup>m</sup> as the governor of Kārā and Audh. The plea that he put forth was that he would require that money to raise the army to attack Chandēri. The

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3 Ibid., p.141.

4 Ferishta (Trns. Briggs), Vol.I, p.303.

5 Elliot: Op.cit., p.148.

6 Ibid., p.149.

Sultan was too good to understand the intentions of Alā-ud-dīn and the latter's requests were all granted. To Alā-ud-dīn, attack on Chandēri was an excuse, but the aim was the Hindu kingdom of Dēvagiri beyond the Vindhya whose wealth he required<sup>7</sup> for achieving the ultimate goal of occupying the Delhi throne. The king would have permitted him to raid Dēvagiri also but that would mean that the booty would be the king's property. Once the sanction to go to Chandēri was obtained, Alā-ud-dīn lost no time in putting it into action. He took care to send false and vague reports about his movements. His trusted and favourite servant Alā-ul-mulk, the uncle of the historian Baranī, was appointed for this job.<sup>7</sup>

The chronicles are not unanimous regarding the date of Alā-ud-dīn's expedition to the South. Ferishta gives the year as 1294 A.D. (693 A.H.) for his march to the Deccan. In this year, according to him, after getting the permission from the king, Alā-ud-dīn proceeded towards Karā where he enlisted many chiefs of distinction who had formerly been dependents of the Bulban family.<sup>8</sup> He then marched towards the Deccan. Now the year A.H. 693 commenced on November 21, 1294 A.D.,<sup>9</sup> and even if he started from Delhi in November itself, he must have taken at least a few months to reach Karā and equip himself with the military force that was required. This means that he could set out on the march only in the first quarter of 1295 A.D. at the earliest. But the events that took place show that this date also would be too early for the event.

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7 Ibid.

8 Ferishta: op.cit., p.304.

9 Pillai: Indian Ephemeris, Vol.IV, p.191.

Amīr Khusrau, on the other hand, seems to be more precise on the point. He states that Alā-ud-dīn left Karā on the 26th of February 1296 A.D. (19, Rabi-ul-Akhar 695 A.H.) and that he returned to that place, after the raid, on 3rd June 1296 A.D. (28 Rajab, 695<sup>10</sup> A.H.). Barani's statement that Jalāl-ud-dīn heard that Alā-ud-dīn had plundered Dēvagiri and was returning to Karā when he was at Gwalior, for which place he started in 695 A.H.<sup>11</sup> Since this year commenced on 10th November 1295 A.D.,<sup>11</sup> it may be presumed that he might have started for Gwalior only in the beginning of 1296 A.D. If it is surmised that Alā-ud-dīn required about a month at least to reach Karā from Dēvagiri, the news of his plunder must have reached the Sultan in the month of May 1296 A.D. since as Amīr Khusrau says, he returned in June 1296 A.D. Ferishta tells us that Alā-ud-dīn was at Dēvagiri for 25 days and he left that place on the 25th<sup>13</sup> day. If, on the other hand, he had started early in 1295 A.D. and the operations were over within 25 days of his reaching Dēvagiri and if the news reached Jalāl-ud-dīn in about May 1296 A.D., it follows that Alā-ud-dīn's expedition involved more than a year. But this could not have been the case. Alā-ud-dīn planned to invade Dēvagiri without the knowledge of the king and naturally therefore he was anxious to finish off the affairs as early as possible. Isāmī stated that Alā-ud-dīn's plan was to complete the campaign within<sup>14</sup> two months. It would also be difficult for Alā-ud-dīn to keep his action a secret for more than a year. As such he must have

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10 Muhammad Habib: Campaigns of Alā-ud-dīn Khalji, p.5.

11 Elliot: Op.cit., p.150.

12 Pillai, Op.cit., p.193.

13 Elliot: Op.cit., p.210.

14 The Delhi Sultanate, p.47.



taken less time than suggested by Ferishta. He, of course, speaks of Alā-ud-dīn's leaving Delhi for Karā in that year, i.e., 693 A.H. and if this information is taken to be correct, it is to be surmised that he took about a year to consolidate his plans and then proceed with the army to the Deccan.

Thus towards the end of February in 1296 A.D., the Muslim army moved for Chandēri. From Chandēri onwards his movements ~~of the~~ ~~army~~ were kept a guarded secret, not only as regards the Sultan of Delhi but also the chiefs that were to meet the army on the way. Alā-ud-dīn, to avoid ~~the~~ possible clash with the latter, spread the rumour that he was not at war with anybody but being disgusted of the king "was going to offer his services to the Rājā of Raḥamundry one of the rājās of Tulingana".<sup>15</sup>

Fooling the people in this fashion and possibly taking the less known route, avoiding the well-known one, Alā-ud-dīn entered the Sēūṇa territory and then pitched his first camp at Elichpur, the present Achalapur in Amaravati District of Maharashtra. A party of spies went ahead to ascertain "when the Rai's army, (i.e. the army of Rāmachandra) was engaged in warfare."<sup>16</sup> As luck would have it, the news came that Rāmachandra's son Singhana III had been out of the capital with most of the army. Alā-ud-dīn hastened to Dēvagiri. About 12 miles to the west of Dēvagiri at Lāchūr or Lājura, the Muslim chief was opposed by Kānhā, a general of the

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15 Ferishta, op.cit., p.305.

16 Elliot: Op.cit., p.40.

<sup>17</sup>  
Sēūna king. Kānhā might be the same as Karna or Kṛishṇa, who figures as a subordinate of Rāmachandra. But the opposition was of no ~~avail~~ avail and Alā-ud-dīn proceeded to Dēvagiri. Rāmachandra was perplexed for<sup>6</sup> he had no army to assist him. He, however, collected the available number of soldiers <sup>18</sup> and put up an opposition to the fast moving army about four miles from the fort. But he was overpowered and was forced to shut himself up inside the fort. Alā-ud-dīn laid seige <sup>to</sup> the fort. The Muslim soliders plundered the city to their heart's content. News was spread by the cunning Muslim invaders <sup>e</sup> that his was just an advance army and a bigger one with 20,000 strength was closely following, and this news dishearted the Sēūna king and he had no other way but to negotiate peace. This was not unwelcome to Alā-ud-dīn also. What he aspired for was ~~the~~ wealth and not ~~the~~ territory. He had got enough by looting the city and being in the position of a conqueror he could dictate terms. ~~He~~ He was also keen on going back to Kārā as soon as possible, lest suspicions of the king be roused. He agreed upon a treaty and as a result, ~~of the treaty~~ he obtained huge quantity of gold, silver and precious stones, in addition to elephants. Isāmi and <sup>19</sup> Wassāf add that he also got the daughter of Rāmachandra in marriage.

17 If Ismāmi's narration is to be believed, Kānhā rushed to Dēvagiri with the news of Alā-ud-dīn's arrival near the capital, but Rāmachandra was not inclined to believe him. (N.Venkataramanayya: The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p.16, f.n.7). It was too unexpected for him and he must have been too sure of his strength! But at any rate, he sent an army with him to meet the foe who, of course, overpowered Kānhā and stepped into Dēvagiri (op.cit., pp.15 17). Barani does not refer to Kānhā but says that Rāmachandra sent the army with one of the rānās who might be the same as Kanhā (Elliot, op.cit., p.150). Ferishta does not mention Lājurā.

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Ferishta is silent over it. We do not know however, <sup>from any other source,</sup> of any daughter of Rāmachandra other than the one who married Haripālādēva.

But before the people of Dēvagiri could heave a sigh of relief, fresh disturbances started again and the Sēūna king had to pay a heavier toll. For, when Alā-ud-dīn was preparing himself to leave Dēvagiri with his booty, Rāmachandra's son Singhana<sup>III</sup> on hearing the news returned with his army and in spite of his father's advice to the contrary he fell on the Muslim army. The risk taken was indeed worthwhile and the chances of victory were quite bright. But ~~it~~ ~~was only a coincidence that~~ the Sēūna army got confused and panic<sup>II</sup> when the army under Alā-ud-dīn's general Nusarat Khān kept for 'investing the fort' came for the help. ~~and~~ The latter army was believed by the Sēūna soldiers to be the additional 20,000 ~~soldiers~~. ~~At last,~~ the false rumour about the arrival of which was so cunningly spread. The Hindus took to heels and the situation came under <sup>the</sup> control of Alā-ud-dīn. Dēvagiri was subjected to plunder with renewed vengeance and the seige on the fort was further strengthened. Rāmachandra had no other way but to appeal for peace again. Alā-ud-dīn was now in a stronger position and his conditions for withdrawal were more severe. In addition to the huge amount of gold, precious stones and <sup>the</sup> elephants, the Sēūna agreed to remit annually the revenue of the Elichpur district and permission was granted to station a

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18 Moolhikat quoted by Ferishta says that even civilians were enlisted. Elliot, op.cit., p.306.

19 N.Venkataramanayya, op.cit., p.18 and foot note 12; Elliot, op.cit., p.40.

garrison of Muslim army there.

The venture of Alā-ud-dīn was more than rewarded and with booty more than expected he returned jubilant to his native province of Karā. He did not stop at that, for it was not the end at all; but 'only a means to it'. He knew that the king would not easily approve of this adventure of his and he was not willing to part with whatever he <sup>had</sup> got. So he pretended to be repentant and with the co-operation of his brother Almas Beg, he so intrigued that instead of his going to Delhi, he made the good hearted and unsuspecting Sultan to go to Karā where he mercilessly murdered him. The gold from Dēvagiri bought for him the co-operation of nobles and soldiers and in the middle of the year 1296 A.D., <sup>21</sup> he ascended the throne that was dripping with the blood of his affectionate uncle.

The Muslim invasion, unexpected as it was, had <sup>far reaching</sup> ~~serious~~ effects on the Sēūna country and indirectly on the other kingdoms of the south. To Alā-ud-dīn, it opened the gates of the treasure of incalculable wealth which he could depend upon whenever he felt the need for it. The topography of the Southern country, the routes to reach it, all he became conversant with. He could <sup>also get</sup> ~~have~~ a fairly good idea of the political conditions of the different

20 'Isāmī is quite different in his account. He states that Rāmachandra's son responded favourably to his plea not to attack the Muslim army and submitted to Alā-ud-dīn. But this account is not concurred by any other historian. (N.Venkataramanayya, pp.18-19)

21 The Delhi Sultanate, p.18.

kingdoms and the attitude and the military strength of the rulers thereof. Rāmachandra retained his kingdom but lost his independence for he was obliged to pay the annual tribute. But instead of taking a lesson from this attack and patching up his relations with his neighbours, to put up a united opposition against a future attack, he continued his enmity with them, particularly the Hoysala, and even before he could forget the death<sup>fe</sup> at the hands of the Muslim invader<sup>e</sup>, he revived his hostilities towards the Hoysala territory!

War with the Hoysalas:

Hardly had Alā-ud-dīn reached Karā than Rāmachandra revived his hostilities towards the Hoysalas. His general Yebaranāyaka attacked the territory of the Sāntara chief Kātanāyaka who was a feudatory of Hoysala Ballāla III.<sup>22</sup> A fight took place at <sup>Nr. 9</sup> ~~Mūlari~~ <sup>Kūlari</sup>. The result however seems to have been inconclusive, for Yebaranāyaka again attacked the territory in 1302 A.D. and this time <sup>a</sup> ~~Soḍ~~ <sup>on</sup> ~~dēva,~~ <sup>at</sup> the instructions of Ballāla stopped the Sūna general at <sup>23</sup> Sālūr. The same incident has been referred to in other records of the same date, one of which <sup>locates</sup> ~~points to~~ the scene of battle at <sup>24</sup> Sālivērici (ie Sālār).

In 1303 A.D. again there was a struggle between the generals of the two rivals. Kampiladēva, the general of Rāmachandra attacked Hoḷalakere and in the battle that ensued, Sōmeya-danḍanāyaka, <sup>Sōmeya had married</sup> the general of Ballāla III lost his life. ~~He was the husband of~~

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22 M.A.R., 1931, p.188, No.73.

23 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Nr.27.

24 M.A.R. 1931, p.186, No.72; *ibid.*, 1944, pp.160 ff., No.38,

the sister of Ballāla. <sup>25</sup> This very fight is referred to in two other inscriptions of the same date, which commemorate the death of another hero. <sup>26</sup> It seems probable that he is the same Kāmpilā-dēva, the father of Kumāra-Rāma, the famous hero of Kummata. Kāmpilā's father, ~~is said to be~~, was Mummudi Singeya-nāyaka. Though the latter was hostile to the Sēūnas, his son Kāmpilā accepted their service. <sup>27</sup> His another name was Khandeyarāya. <sup>28</sup> ~~Khandeyarāya-rāya was also a subordinate of the Sēūnas.~~

Towards the end of 1304 A.D., Ballāla himself led his army to the North, against the 'Āryas', i.e., the Sēūnas. <sup>29</sup> In <sup>the</sup> course of the expedition he is reported to have destroyed the fort of Nāṅkigundi. <sup>30</sup> According to an inscription which refers to this battle, Rāmachandra ordered the capture of the tiger-cub, the king of Karnāṭaka, i.e., the Hoysalā. But most probably the king's order could not be carried out.

When Rāmachandra thus kept himself engaged in warfare with the Hoysalās, the South was under the threat of another attack by the Muslim invaders. <sup>31</sup> Though this time, neither he nor his adversary the Hoysalā, was the target of the attack, both of them ought to have been on the alert; but they failed. <sup>32</sup> Alā-ud-din was now

25 M.A.R., 1913, p.40.

26 Ibid. 1912, para 93; Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Nr 106.

27 Karnatak University Journal, Vol.IV, p.225

28 Ep.Carn., Vol.IX, Bn 53.

29 It is difficult to identify this place, though its name is similar to the village where the record is found, i.e. Nekkundi.

on the throne of Delhi. He was in need of funds to continue his wars against the Mongols, who were a constant threat to Hindustan on the one side and the Rajputs of Chittor, who had successfully defied the Muslim authority and had withstood their onslaughts, on the other. The successful expedition to Devagiri had discovered for him a treasure in the fabulous<sup>ly</sup> rich southern kingdoms. Having consolidated<sup>ed</sup> his power in Delhi, Alā-ud-dīn sent his army to the Deccan to plunder Warangal, the capital city of the Kakatiyas, in the year 1303-04 A.D.<sup>31</sup> Thanks to the heroism of Pratāparudra, the then Kakatiya king, the Muslim army under Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūna and Chhajjū, had to retreat. The Muslim chroniclers, ~~however~~ <sup>as</sup> they ~~are~~ are almost silent over the episode.

#### Second Muslim Invasion of Devagiri:

But soon <sup>the</sup> danger came nearer home. News went to Alā-ud-dīn that ~~he heard that~~ Rāmachandra "had rebelled and for several years had not sent tribute to Delhi."<sup>32</sup> Alā-ud-dīn's lust for wealth

Both cannot be the same since the latter village which is in Bangalore taluk could not have been in the enemy's territory. Further the village figures in <sup>an</sup> ~~the~~ inscription as Nerkundi.

30 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sa 156.

31 Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India p.24.

32 Elliot, op.cit., p.200. Amir Khusrau puts it this way: "Rai Jam Dev was a wild horse that had once before come within the halts of the Imperial Officers and had been trained with the horse-breakers' whip which disciplines a demon. But then the imperial horseman had, with the greatest kindness, let him the desired meadows of his ancient domain and like a well-fed horse he had

had never <sup>been</sup> quenched; and this news was an excuse good enough to send an army to Dēvagiri. His army left Delhi under the leadership of Malik Kafūr, the slave who was raised to the status of Malik Nāib or the regent of the state. The latter reached Dēvagiri in March 1307 A.D. <sup>33</sup> and the war was declared on the day of the 19th Rameḍān of 706 A.D. <sup>H 34</sup> The Hindu army could not stand the attack and Singhana, the son of the Sēūna king, fled from the battle field. Rāmachandra and his relatives were captured and taken to Delhi. Un-<sup>u</sup>usually rather, the Sultan was very kind to the Sēūna king whom he received well and sent back with honours. Ferishta adds that the Sultan also gave him 'the district of Nawsari near Guzarat as a per-<sup>35</sup>sonal estate.' But this statement is indeed questionable in the light of the recently discovered epigraph. This ~~(latter)~~ <sup>36</sup> epigraph is found at Nawsari itself, in the present Surat District and shows that in 1303 A.D., which is its date, that territory was included

forgotten the neck-breaking bridle and became headstrong and re-  
fractory. (Muhammad Habib, op.cit., p.51). 'Isāmi has a different story altogether. He says that the rebel was not Rāmachandra, but his son and the former even went to the extent of informing the Sul-  
tan about it. (N.Venkataramanayya, Early Expansion Etc., p.26). It is rather unusual on the part of Rāmachandra and no other authority concurs with it. Venkataramanayya accepts this version, arguing that this explains the extreme kindness of the Sultan towards Rāma-  
chandra when the latter was taken captive to Delhi. But if Rāma-  
chandra was the informant, then the Sultan would <sup>not</sup> have ordered his general to arrest him but only to capture his rebellious son.

23 As regards this date again the chronicles differ. Ferishta vaguely gives the year as the beginning of the year 707 <sup>8</sup> A.H. (1306 A.D.) while Barani suggests that it was 708 A.H., when he refers to



in the Sēūna kingdom before the date when it is supposed to have been given to him by the Sultan of Delhi as a personal estate. If Ferishta's statement is to be taken to be valid, it will have to be surmised that before 1307 A.D., the district had ~~been~~ <sup>had been</sup> seceded from the Sēūna kingdom or ~~was~~ taken away by the Sultan himself and was then granted to Rāmachandra. But there is no evidence to support this conjecture.

At any rate, with this second invasion, the independence of the Sēūna kingdom was lost for ever and Rāmachandra was obliged to live as a loyal servant of the Sultan of Delhi, helping him in his further exploits, Dēvagiri becoming a Muslim base in the South.

This invasion of Dēvagiri was associated with another mission, viz., the capture of Dēvaladēvi, the daughter of Karna, the last of the Vāghēlā kings of Gujarāt, who fell a prey to the Muslim attacks and with whom the independence of Gūrjara kingdom ceased to exist.

Muslim historians have us believe that Kovaladēvi, i.e. Kōmala dēvi, the former queen of Vāghēlā Karna who, in an earlier invasion of Gujarāt was captured and made over to the harem of Alā-ud-dīn, expressed a desire to obtain her daughter Devaldēvi (Dēvaladēvi) who was staying with Karna. Along with Malik Kafūr was sent Alap Khan, to accomplish this purpose. The latter attacked Karna who sought <sup>fuge</sup> ~~rescue~~ under Singhana III. <sup>Singhana</sup> ~~The latter~~ asked for the hand of

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709 A.D., as the year next to the one when this invasion took place. (Elliot, op.cit., p.201).

34 Muhammad Habib, op.cit., p.51.

35 Ferishta, op.cit., p.369.

36 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXIV, pp.

Dēvaladēvi and Karna agreed. But on the way to Dēvagiri, near about Ellora, Dēvaladēvi fell into the hands of Alap Khan and was carried away to Delhi. She was later married to Alā-ud-dīn's son Khizr <sup>37</sup> Khān.

#### Rāmachandra's Assistance to the Invader:

During the course of <sup>the</sup> next two years, the Muslim army reached Dēvagiri once against but not for plunder this time <sup>only</sup> but to take rest and proceed further to exploit the Kākatiya kingdom.

Alā-ud-dīn for some time was pre-occupied with the affairs in North India. Once the issues there <sup>were</sup> settled, he turned his eagle eyes towards <sup>the</sup> South again. Though Dēvagiri was now under his control and Rāmachandra dared not defy his authority, the inglorious defeat that his army had received at the hands of Pratāparudra at Warangal could not be forgotten. He had to wipe off the <sup>infamy</sup> ~~blasphemy~~ by subduing him. The assistance of the king of Dēvagiri could also be depended upon this time. So, unlike the route formerly taken through Bengal, the Sultan's army was led this time through Dēvagiri by Malik Kafūr again, on the 31st October of 1309 A.D. (25th Jumādiul-

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37 'Isāmi again differs materially. He states that Malik Ahmad Jhītam, accompanied by Panchaman, proceeded against Karna. When Paṭṭan, i.e. Anhilapāṭaka, the capital of Gujarāt, was attacked, Karna fled to Dēvagiri for protection. But not being received well he proceeded to Luddar Dev of Tiling, i.e. Kākatiya Pratāparudra. (Venkātaramanayya, Early Expansion, p.28, f.n.27). But this sounds very unusual. If Dēvaladēvi was agreed to be married to Singhana, naturally he would have got asylum there and if Rāmachandra tried to remain loyal to Alā-ud-dīn even by informing him of his own son's rebellion, he could as well hand over Karna if the latter ever sought

awwal 709 A.H.)<sup>38</sup> The army started from Delhi and after a journey of about one and a half months, ~~it~~ reached the border of the Sēūna kingdom. On its approaching the capital, Nāmachandra came forth to meet the army, "with respectful offerings to the Sultan and presents to the generals. He paid a visit to the military camp every day and showed every mark of loyalty and to the best of his ability supplied Nāib Kafūr and his officers with fodder and the army with material. Every day he and his military officers went out to the camp rendering every assistance. He made the bazār people of Dēō-gīr attend the army and gave them strict orders to supply the wants of the soldiers at cheap rates."<sup>39</sup> The Muslim army stayed there for<sup>a</sup> few days and then marched towards Warangal. This statement of Barani, with which Ferishta concurs, goes to show the extent of the effect of the Muslim attacks on Dēvagiri.

A similar infamous occasion to assist the invader against his own neighbour arrived soon in the very next year. After a successful plunder of Warangal, Malik Kafur returned to Delhi on the 10th June 1310 A.D.<sup>40</sup> but he could not stay there long. Towards the end of the same year,<sup>41</sup> he was again ordered to march to the South, this time up to Ma'bar which lay at a distance the journey of which would take<sup>h.m</sup> full twelve months.<sup>42</sup> The reason for this expedition according to his refuge.

38 Muhammad Habib, op.cit., p.56. Wassāf (Elliot, op.cit.p.49), Barānī (Ibid., p.201) and Ferishta (op.cit., p.371), simply give the year.

39 ~~Barani~~, Elliot, op.cit., p.201.

40 11th Muharram 710 A.H. (Amīr Khusrau, Muhammad Habib, op.cit. p.79).

41 November 20. 1310 A.D. (Tuesday 26th Jumādūl Akhīr 710 A.H.)

to Khusrau was to spread the light of the Muhammadan religion there. Though the spread of Islām was one of the avowed objects of the Muslim kings, the immediate intention of Alā-ud-dīn in sending the army to those distant lands was again to acquire the wealth of those countries. 'He heard' says Ferishta 'there were temples very rich in gold and jewels'.<sup>43</sup> The target of the attack now was not Ma'bar alone but Dōrasamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas also, which lay on the route to Ma'bar. The Sēūna was employed by the Muslim general for the purpose of attacking the latter country. Perhaps Rāmachandra was glad to do so. The Hoysalas were the hereditary enemies and rivals of the Sēūnas and all the kings of both the families kept it up with zeal.

After crossing the Narmadā and Taptī, the Muslim general arrived at Dēvagiri on the 3rd of February 1311 A.D.<sup>44</sup> He was well received and all ~~the~~ facilities to the army were supplied by Rāmachandra 'with all his heart'. In addition, he appointed his general Parāsurāma daḷavāyīḷ to guide the Muslim army to Dōrasamudra. Parāsurāma's territory lay near the borders of the Hoysala country and Amīr Khusrau<sup>45</sup> says that Parāsurāma (Paras Deo Dalvi, according to him) was eager to see the latter country being besieged by the Muslims. After crossing the <sup>S</sup>īnī, Gōdavarī and the Bhīmā rivers,

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(Ibid., p.81).

42 Ibid., p.80.

43 Op.cit., p.373.

44 Thursday, 13th of Ramzān (Muhammad Habib, op.cit., p.85).

45 Epigraphical records confirm the existence of such a general of Rāmachandra. (See A.R.I.E., 1960-61, B 419-20).

Malik Kafūr reached Bandri, the headquarters of Parāsurāma.<sup>46</sup> Pitching his camp there, he sent advance guards to bring information about the country and one such news was quite encouraging. It was learnt that on the outbreak of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya kingdom (i.e. Ma'bar of the Muslim historians) between the two brothers, the Hoysala king had moved in there "for the purpose of sacking their two empty cities and plundering the merchants."<sup>47</sup> But it is likely that Ballāḷa III might have thought of trying to get back his ancestral territory of Kannānūr in Tamil area. He however returned<sup>ed</sup> to his kingdom on getting the news of the march of Malik Kafūr. The latter marched from Bandri on 13th February 1311 A.D. (23rd Ramzān 710 A.H.) and reached Dōrasamudra on the 25th of February.<sup>48</sup> Ballāḷa's resistance<sup>a</sup> was of no avail and he had to submit to the victor, and surrender all his wealth. Malik Kafūr used the<sup>old</sup> ~~same~~ tactics of taking the help of the defeated Hoysala to proceed to Ma'bar. In the latter place, however, this Muslim hero of Southern battles had to retreat as ~~confessed~~<sup>told</sup> by the Muslim historians<sup>49</sup> an Wassāf himself. But though he was not able to conquer Ma'bar, a large booty was his and with all the wealth so collected, he returned triumphantly to Delhi in the month of October in 1311 A.D.<sup>50</sup>

Last date of Rāmachandra:

This was the last incident in the life of Rāmachandra. He

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<sup>46</sup> Venkataramanayya identifies this place with Bandir in North Kanara District of Mysore State.

<sup>47</sup> Elliot, op.cit., p.88.

<sup>48</sup> Muhammad Habib, op.cit., p.87.

<sup>49</sup> Elliot, op.cit., p.50.

<sup>50</sup> Venkataramanayya, op.cit., p.67.

died soon after that. It is however not possible to be precise about his last date. The latest definite record we have for Rāmachandra is dated on the 5th of September 1310 A.D.<sup>51</sup> According to Barani, when Malik Kafur reached Dēvagiri on his way to Dōrasamudra and Ma'bar,<sup>52</sup> 'towards the end of 710 A.H. i.e. in the first half of 1311 A.D.<sup>53</sup> he found Rāmachandra dead. Ferishta<sup>54</sup> and Nizām-ud-dīn<sup>55</sup> are also of the same opinion. But Amīr-Khusrau, the contemporary of Alā-ud-dīn, differs from them. He says that Malik Kafur reached the necessary help <sup>from</sup> Rāmachandra who also deputed his general Parasurāma for guidance, thus showing that Rāmachandra was alive then.<sup>56</sup> Isāmi, another contemporary historian, states that news of Rāmachandra's death reached Delhi after Malik Kafur's return to Delhi from Ma'bar expedition.<sup>57</sup> The latter returned only in October 1311 A.D. Therefore Rāmachandra's death must have occurred only after this date.<sup>58</sup> There is an inscription which also appears to state that he lived at least for seven months after this date. But the details of date, viz., Year 6, Paridhāvi, Jyēsthā ba. 10, Wednesday, given in this record are however not very reliable. The Paridhāvi in the reign of Rāmachandra corresponded with 1312 A.D. and the other details with May 31, f.d.t. .71. Obviously this could not have been the 6th year of his reign. If the regnal year is presumed to be a mistake this becomes the latest known date of Rāma-

51 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 209 ff. 52 Elliot, op. cit., p. 203.

53 710 A.H. commenced from 1310 A.D., May 31. (Pillai, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 223).

54 Op. cit., p. 373.

55 Venkataramanayya, Early Expansion, p. 50, f.n. 88.

56 Muhammad Habib, op. cit., p. 85.

57 Venkataramanayya, Early Expansion, p. 72 and f.n. 37.

58 Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb 295.

chandra. Thus it is likely that Rāmachandra died some time in the latter half of 1312 A.D.

## II SINGHANA III

*Sainkhanda*

After Rāmachandra, the succession went to his son Singhana III. He must have ascended the throne in the latter half of 1312 A.D., but then the throne had lost all <sup>(173) Sib</sup> glory. No more did the Sēūna territory remain independent. Paying tribute to the Sultan of Delhi was inevitable.

Singhana was a different type of person from his father. The latter preferred submission to <sup>opposition</sup> protest. Inadequately protected fort. ~~the~~ unexpected attack by which he was taken unaware, the merciless slaughter by the Muslim soldiers and to add to it, the advanced age forced Rāmachandra to purchase peace at the cost of independence. But his son, the youth, could not stand this humiliation. He preferred to fight and die if it came to that, than ~~manly~~ submit. When in 1296 A.D., ~~the~~ Alā-ud-dīn, in the capacity of the governor of Karā, led the Muslim army stealthily and laid bare the capital of Dēvagiri, Singhana protested. He was away when the enemy besieged the fort. But the moment he heard of it, he hurried back to the capital and took the challenge. His father sent him a message that a treaty had already been concluded, and <sup>that should</sup> he ~~might~~ refrain from violence. But the young prince could not ~~be~~ compromised. His message to Alā-ud-dīn - if its historicity is to be accepted - 'if you have any love for life and desire safety, restore what you have 59 plundered and proceed quietly rejoicing at your happy escape'

speaks of a proud and youthful mind which viewed humili<sup>ation</sup> with anger. Further description by Ferishta shows that his challenge was not an empty boast and that he was very near victory. But the arrival of another Muslim contingent which was mistakenly believed to be the threatened force 25,000 strong, created a confusion and made him <sup>lose</sup> lose the battle. But at any rate he could not accept the dictation of the Muslim king and the result was defiance of the latter's authority. Isāmi says that it was Rāmachandra's son who was responsible for the rebellion and stopping of the tribute and not Rāmachandra himself. <sup>60</sup> He had no hand in it. Even if he had, as is stated by others, Singhaṇa was mainly responsible. This was quite in consonance with his ambitions, no doubt; but the step was taken with no forethought and without requisite preparation. No co-operation from the neighbouring kings was enlisted and only the inadequate army at home was depended upon. The result was another attack by the Muslims and submission.

#### Muslim Invasion Again:

Singhaṇa did not give up his attempts anyway. He chose to run away from the battle and remained ~~almost~~ incognito till the death of his father. Once he came to power he tried to assert himself by re-



fusing to accept the supremacy of an alien king. But here again he committed the same folly of not securing the assistance of his neighbours. He had the spirit of a freedom loving youth but not the necessary foresightedness. Before <sup>he was</sup> ~~being~~ fully equipped with the necessary army, he again withheld the dues to be paid to the Sultan. The news reached Delhi and Malik Kafūr took the clue and with the consent of the king proceeded to Dēvagiri. Singhana as expected proved too weak to oppose the Muslim army and as per the authority of 'Isāmī, <sup>61</sup> ~~he~~ fled away. But Forishta says that he was inhumanly put to death. He also ascribed this event to 1312 A.D. <sup>62</sup> (A.H.712). <sup>63</sup> But it is likely that it took place early next year.

Bhillama VI:

No reliable details about this prince have come forth. <sup>Bakhar</sup> The Mahakāvāṭī ~~Bakhar~~, states that Nāgarasa II, the grandson of Nāgarasa of Māhim, to whom a reference has been made in an earlier context, defeated Bimbadēva. It is also seen that Bimbadēva is the same as Bhillama VI, the second son of Rāmachandra. The work adds that this ~~anxious~~ incident took place in Śaka 1254 (1332 A.D.). If the historicity of this statement is to be relied upon, it will have to be surmised that Bhillama continued to <sup>ie</sup> ~~wield~~ some power till at least this year.

61 Ibid., p.72.

62 Op.cit., p.379.

63 See The Delhi Sultanate, p.39, where 1313 A.D. is given as the date of Malik Kafūr's march to Dēvagiri. See also E.H.I., Vol. III, p.118.

### Petty Revolts:

With the death of Singhana III, came to an end of the Sēūna kingdom also and thenceforth it became a part of the Muslim empire. Dēvagiri, the capital, became the headquarters of Malik Kafūr, who looked to the administration of the country from there.

Isāmi tells that <sup>the</sup> measures taken by Malik Kafūr <sup>placed</sup> produced confidence among the people and peace and tranquility reigned. But the patriotic elements, who could not reconcile themselves to the foreign ruler, <sup>said</sup> tried to revolt. One such was Mallidēva, <sup>to be</sup> Rāma-chandra's sister's son. <sup>64</sup> Kāmpiladēva, son of Mummudī Singenāyaka, <sup>also</sup> however put up a ~~very~~ stiff opposition to Malik Kafūr who made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the fort of Kummata. Soon after, the illness of Alā-ud-dīn made him to go back to Delhi, leaving general Ain-ul-Mulk, <sup>The latter</sup> to look after the territory, ~~who~~ also left for <sup>65</sup> Delhi subsequently.

Haripālādēva and the last attempt to retrieve the Sēūna Glory:

The <sup>d</sup> departure of Malik Kafūr from <sup>the</sup> Deccan caused anarchy in the territory of Dēvagiri and simultaneously <sup>q</sup> major changes took place in Delhi also.

When Alā-ud-dīn was ill Malik Kafūr's ambitions rose high. He thoroughly exploited the king's confidence in him and managed to see that Khizr Khān, the heir apparent, was sent <sup>as a</sup> prisoner to Gwalior and his mother held captive at Delhi. Alap Khān, the governor of Gujarāt and the father-in-law of Khizr Khān, was murdered at the instance of Malik Kafūr who thereby got rid of a mighty rival. <sup>ere</sup> ~~This~~

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64 Venkataramanayya, Early Expansion, p.74.

65 The Delhi Sultanate, p.41.

<sup>their</sup>  
~~sent~~ of affairs at Delhi had ~~the~~ repercussions outside. The generals of Alap-Khān in Gujarāt resented the murder of their master and rose against the centre. Kamal-ud-dīn Gurg who was deputed to quell the rebellion was himself killed. There were disturbances in Rājūtānā also and Dēvagiri was no exception. The news of the disorders at Delhi and the serious illness of the Sultān encouraged Haripālādēva the son-in-law of Rāmachandra <sup>66 to revolt</sup> and he was backed by his minister Rāghava.

Confusion reigned for good time at Delhi and nobody had time to turn towards the South. Malik Kafūr, the champion of the Southern conquests was busy <sup>67</sup> manœuvring to get the throne for himself ~~and~~ <sup>when</sup> In 1316 A.D., he set up on the throne, Shahāb-ud-Dīn 'Umar, the youngest son of Alā-ud-dīn, and himself became the regent. But in the end he was assassinated. Mubārak Khān, the third son of Alā-ud-dīn, who was to be blinded by the agents of Malik Kafūr, was released from prison and after a brief period of regency, ~~he~~ de-throned Shahab-ud-dīn 'Umar and himself became the king under the name Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh.

#### Mubārak's Expedition to Dēvagiri:

Soon after his accession in 1317 A.D., Mubārak gave his attention to the rebelling states such as Gujarāt and Dēvagiri. 'Ain-ul-

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66 Venkataramanayya, Early Expansion, p.78, f.n.5. It has been noted above that a Haripālāyya or Haripālādēva figures <sup>in</sup> some inscriptions of Rāmachandra ~~and~~ and it has also been suggested that he might be the same as the son-in-law of Rāmachandra.

67 Ferishta, op.cit., p.381, 6th Shawwal 716 A.H.

Mulk, who had been left behind by Malik Kafūr, at Dēvagiri and who later on <sup>was</sup> called back to Delhi was now deputed to Gujarāt to quell the revolt which he successfully did. The Sultān then appointed his father-in-law Zafar Khān as the governor of that state.

To put down the reported revolt of Haripāla, he himself proceeded in 1318 A.D. After a march of two months, Mubārak reached Dēvagiri. Harāpālādēva, inspired though he was with the idea of freeing Dēvagiri, had apparently not ~~well~~ prepared himself for the task. It is of course, said that he had the assistance of 'other <sup>68</sup> princes of Deccan'. But it is not known which of the Hindu princes joined him in his endeavour. Amīr Khusrau states that Rāmā- <sup>69</sup> chandra's minister Raghū (i.e. Rāghava) had ten thousand horsemen to back him. But ~~he~~ <sup>this force</sup> could not stand before the Muslim army and Haripāla as well as Rāghava took shelter in the hills. Khusrau Khān, the lieutenant of Mubārak, <sup>him</sup> pursued Haripāla, captured <sup>70</sup> and brought him before the king where he was killed.

68 Ferishta, op.cit., p.389.

69 It may be recalled here that the Rāmtēk inscription refers to a Rāghava as a chief under Rāmachandra.

70 Historians are not unanimous over this incident. Amīr Khusrau says that the rebel leader in Dēvagiri was Raghū, the deputy and minister of late Ram Deo. He had 10,000 cavalry behind him. But Khusrau Khān's army routed him. Rāghava was wounded and 'entered some cave in a ravine which even a snake could scarcely penetrate' (Elliot, op.cit., p.558). He further adds that when after the subjugation of Raghū, Khusrau Khān was returning, he was opposed by <sup>R</sup>āpā Harpāl and it was not easy for the Khān to defeat the latter. Two or three battles took place. But he was later on captured and was taken before the king. The latter ordered him to put

### The End of the Sēūna Dynasty:

With the death of Haripāla, the last <sup>flame</sup> ~~king~~ of Hindu authority over the Sēūna kingdom was finally put out. <sup>71</sup> Due to the setting of <sup>the</sup> rainy season Mubārāk stayed at Dēvagiri for a long period. This helped him to take full control of the situation and put down even the smallest insurgent element. He appointed Malik Yak Lakhy, who was formerly in the service of Alā-ud-dīn, as the governor of Dēvagiri. He set up military bases at Gulbarga, Sāghar, Dōrasamudra and other places and after making other necessary arrangements for the efficient administration of the province, ~~Mubārāk~~ returned to Delhi.

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to death by the sword (Ibid., p.564). According to Isāmi, the Muslim general who defeated Haripāla was Talalbgha. The Sultān seized the treasures of Haripālādēva which were acquired by Malik Kafūr and he was put to death. (Venkataramanayya, Early Expansion, p.80, f.n.8). Baranī on the other hand speaks of the rebel <sup>lion</sup> by Harpāl Deo and Rāma Deo. He also does not mention Raghū or Rāghava. He states that Haripālādēva was ordered 'to be flayed and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogīr'. (Elliot, op.cit., p.215). Ferishta also does not refer to Rāghava. He says that Haripālādēva was captured and 'was flayed alive, decapitated and his head fixed above the gate of his own capital (Briggs, op.cit., p.389).

71 In later times, during the days of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara, some members of the Sēūna family appeared to have joined the Vijayanagara army. A record of this king, dated in 1355 A.D. mentions Sēvi(vu)na-dala. (Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Cd 2).

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE EPILOGUE

Thus came to an end, the glorious rule of the Sēūnas, who held under their command most part of the Deccan for over a ~~small~~ century. Making a small beginning as feudatories chiefs, they settled in the northern part of the Deccan, there carving out for themselves a small principality which came to be known as Sēūna-dēsa, round about Sinnar in the Nasik District. They had, however, to wait long to reach the imperial status. The Rāshtrakūṭas, their first masters, vanished from the political scene, and the Western Chālukyas took their place. The Sēūnas served the latter also well and gained for themselves some position which perhaps was the reason for some minor clashes with their overlords. Political upheavals in the Chālukya house gave them an opportunity to stand on firmer ground and increase their influence. The Sēūnas sided with Vikramāditya VI, and helped him in <sup>securing</sup> ~~acquiring~~ the throne from <sup>his</sup> ~~the latter's~~ brother Sōmēśvara II. This was not without advantage. Their influence spread southwards and the Sēūna authority extended to Paliyanda 40,000 in Osmanabad District and <sup>also</sup> ~~even~~ in Dharwar District. This was beneficial in another way: the Sēūna<sup>s</sup> could acquaint <sup>themselves</sup> ~~himself~~ with the changing conditions in this part. Gradually, the Chālukya power began declining, <sup>thus</sup> paving way for the rise of the Sēūnas. With the rise of Bijjala, the Kalachurya, the Sēūna too became alert and his ambitions rose high. Though Bijjala succeeded in usurping the Chālukya throne, the Sēūna did not recognise his supremacy. The clashes were inevitable. The Sēūna however remained strong. The Kalachurya power was a very short lived one, and that of the Chālukyas was revived by Sōmēśvara IV. But by <sup>at</sup> the time the Sēūna had grown too strong to accept anybody as his master. Sōmēśvara had to

fight out Bhillama. But he had other formidable foes too, and had to retire from active life. The race for power ensued and the Kākatīyas and the Hoysaḷas became Bhillama's rivals. Proving himself to be stronger, he moved in and occupied parts of the Chālukya kingdom as an independent ruler. Though he faced the fierce opposition of the Hoysaḷas from the southern side, he could, in course of time, establish himself as the ruler of the area upto the Malaprabhā. Still the territory below the Malaprabhā ~~however~~ remained a disputed one between them and became the scene of pitched battles. The territory under Bhillama in the north extended upto the river Narmadā and rightly he <sup>h</sup>ought of a central place for his capital and Dēvagiri, the modern Daulatabad, was chosen for that purpose. Thus he laid the foundation of an independent kingdom.

Singhana II was as ambitious as his grandfather Bhillama or even more. Like a fierce ~~wind~~ <sup>storm</sup> he ~~storm~~ <sup>moved</sup> in all directions and extended the Sēūṇa territory. In the North, the Narmadā remained the border. In the West practically the sea was the border since the Kadam̐bas of Goa and Hāṅgal and the Śilāhāra chiefs were subdued. The Sēūṇa crossed the Tuṅgabhadrā in the South and prevailed in the northern portions of the Sikarpur and Honnali taluks in the Shimoga District. Parts of Anantapur and Kurnool Districts also in the Eastern direction came to be included in the Sēūṇa kingdom. Thus it is indeed to the credit of Singhana that a mighty kingdom was erected on the foundations laid by his grandfather.

Kannara and Mahādēva, the grandsons of Singhana II, successfully strove to preserve the territorial integrity of the kingdom though keeping up the hereditary enmity with the neighbouring rulers. Their influence extended in the southern direction and many records of theirs are found in the Davangere taluk of the Chitradurg District.

But misfortune awaited the Sēūpa kingdom. Rivalry for the throne resulted in the assassination of Āmaṇa, the son of Mahādēva, by Kannara's son Rāmachandra. He continued the quarrels with the neighbours and the result was not very happy. ~~As~~ The Kākatiya general ~~who~~ <sup>was</sup> could penetrate even up to Raichur. This ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> not all. When Rāmachandra was facing a set back, the eagle eyes of the Muslim general Malik Garshasp - later on Alā-ud-dīn Khalji - fell on the bountiful Sēūpa kingdom, across the Vindhya. Rāmachandra had to submit to the alien rule. An effort to revive independence met with another invasion with still <sup>more</sup> humiliating effects - Rāmachandra was taken captive to Delhi. Conditions at home worsened and the enmity between neighbours led to the profit of the outsiders: The Sēūpa <sup>even</sup> assisted the Muslim chief Malik Kafūr to lead the army against the Hoysaḷas!

Resentment for the foreign yoke and an urge for independence was exhibited by the <sup>y</sup>oung Singhana III, the son of Rāmachandra. The ambition was high but the preparations inadequate. Result: virtual accession of the Sēūpa territory to the Muslim empire.

Changes in the Delhi kingdom inspired some heroes to revive the past glory. The confusion that reigned <sup>following</sup> ~~between~~ the death of Alā-ud-dīn and the accession of Mubārak Shāh, gave an opportunity to these elements. Haripāḷadēva, the son-in-law of the deceased



Sēūna king, tried to oust the Muslim from Dēvagiri but again the efforts were foiled. The rebel hero was put to death and since then Dēvagiri territory became the ~~xxmīgar~~ regular part of the Delhi Sultanate.

This <sup>is</sup> short is the political history of the Sēūnas. It is indeed to the <sup>ir</sup> credit that they could set at rest the uncertain conditions in the Deccan following the fall of the Chālukyas and by establishing a strong government brought political stability and peace <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ the territory. As the following pages will show they contributed much to the development of the cultural ~~aspect also of~~ <sup>the</sup> life of their subjects. Security and plenty encouraged the growth of social and religious institutions. Different religions were patronised with impartial zeal. Education and literature grew without being hampered.

The reasons for the decline and downfall are not far to seek. The foremost of them was the lack of foresight on the part of the Sēūna kings. Mutual hostilities and race for power and imperialism made them, as also their contemporaries, warmongers <sup>er</sup>. From the beginning <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ the end, the strong powers in the country, viz., the Hoysala, the Gūrjaras, the Paramāras, the Kākatīyas and the Sēūnas were always quarelling with each other. Never did any one of them try to help the other.

Siṅghana who carved out <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ kingdom himself, was the cause for its fall too - though remotely. Though in order to assert his strength, he fought with the neighbouring kings, not all invasions had strong reasons behind them. These fights only helped to weaken the mutual strength. This policy of enmity with the neighbours was continued by his successors too, as though <sup>it was</sup> a ritual. The fights of

Rāmachandra<sup>ra</sup> with his neighbours got nothing for him. Instead, he had to lose some territory. This sort of policy — the policy of cultivating hatred and enmity with the neighbouring powers was of course the bane of Hindu polity of the period. Had they, instead of wasting their power in mutual bickerings, joined hands in facing the foreign invaders, and driving him out, the course of history would have been different. After all, the Muslim forces were in no way superior to the Hindu army and the Kākatiyas proved their superiority of strength when they pushed back the Muslim general from Warangal. In fact, each Hindu king was competent to combat the Muslim army had he <sup>a</sup> little fore-thought; and if they had made a combined effort, the calamity could have easily been warded off.

Though the first Muslim raid on Dēvagiri surprised the Sēūna who was <sup>not</sup> unprepared for it, he could have been wiser to seek the alliance of the neighbours in order to put up a strong opposition to the Muslim army when it entered Dēvagiri the second time. Further, when the danger from North was still imminent, it was foolish on his part to have renewed his hostilities against the Hoysala. The zeal and pride of Singhana I<sup>st</sup> and Haripālādēva was not enough to regain their lost glory. They had not the required strength to oppose the onslaughts of the ruthless invader.

The policy of religious tolerance, though in itself, a commendable one, hindered the Hindu kings from anticipating the possible dangers behind it. Much earlier than the armed forces of the Muslim rulers traversed the Sēūna border, Islamic elements had already infiltrated into the Sēūna country and were practicing their own religion under the patronage, of course, of the ruling king. A Sufi teacher, Mūnim 'Afif, had settled in the Sēūna capital Dēvagiri.

There was another by name Jalāl-ud-dīn Ganjaravan.<sup>1</sup> They carried on their religious activities in the region. In the regime of Rāmachandra, a mosque was built with the consent of Mahāmandalēśvara<sup>2</sup> Kanharadēva. This shows that a considerable number of Muslims had already come and settled in the Sēūpa country and it is not impossible that these people were instrumental in apprising Alā-ud-dīn of the local conditions.

Thus the narrow-minded expansionist attitude, petty quarrels, tendency to exploit the helpless situation of the neighbours rather than help them, lack of diplomacy and forethought, to some extent the attitude of tolerance towards the aliens with no thought of the repercussions, these and many such, not only on the part of the Sēūpas, but on the part of the other Southern kings also, contributed to the fall of their own kingdoms.

The Hindu supremacy, however, had not to wait very long for establishing itself in the South. Under the inspiring leadership of the great Vidyāranya, the heroes Harihara and Bukkarāya soon ushered in a new era of Hindu sovereignty in the history of South India.

1 The Struggle for Empire, p.xvi.

2 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 170.

## CHAPTER IX

### ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

#### I ADMINISTRATION

Medieval India was made up of a large number of independent kingdoms with monarchical form of government with the king at the head, among which that of the Sēūnas was one. In theory, the king indeed was the master of the land and possessed absolute power. In fact, he was believed to be divine and above all laws. Kingship was hereditary and the king did not have to depend upon the sanctions of the subjects to rule his country. He was the supreme authority in the kingdom. But practice shows that the king, though he was held in awe and respect, had his own limitations which prevented him from becoming autocratic. The Dharma, which was the guiding principle of life in general in ancient India, dissuaded the king from becoming an autocrat and he dared not violate the laws and customs which prevailed in the land. Another important fact that deprived the king of absolute power was the decentralisation of the functions of the government and the independence and freedom given to different bodies in the running of the administration. The king was the head of the State no doubt, but the administration of the country was carried on through different officials and bodies who were directly responsible to the people. The king <sup>with the help of his</sup> was to rule, ~~with the help of his~~

ministers and advisers whose <sup>advice</sup> ~~advice~~ was definitely binding on him. In fact, the political thinkers of ancient India liken<sup>ed</sup> the Government to a body composed of different limbs. The king is the head, the ministers the eyes, friends the ears, the treasury the face, the army the mind and the fort the <sup>a</sup>hand and the country the legs.<sup>1</sup> That the Sēūṇa kings accepted this principle of the seven important constituents of the government is clear from the fact that an inscription of Kannara enumerates them as such and claims that the minister Chaudiseṭṭi was an inevitable part of it.<sup>2</sup> Though indeed the head is the most important limb, it cannot function without the co-operation of other limbs. Thus to see that the State functions in a normal way the king had to pay heed to the opinions of the other constituents. If however, in<sup>s</sup>pite of this, the king proved himself to be <sup>a</sup>despot, the political thinkers did not hesitate to prescribe heavy punishment on the wrongdoer. ~~Complete~~ Autonomy<sup>3</sup> rested with the provinces which were governed by the feudatories or appointed governors, who were to deal with the problems of the respective provinces. Central authority was ~~only~~ nominal and there was no interference, except on serious grounds, such as when a governor turned traitor or refused to remit the collected taxes to the central treasury.<sup>3</sup> The villages in their turn were governed by the local bodies who guided the affairs of the villages, complete

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1 Sukranīti, I, 61.

2 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.102.

3 An inscription from Hire-Idigōḍ seems to refer to such a situation. It states that two nālprabhus, who had collected the taxes, refused to surrender the amount to the king's general Lakshmi<sup>pa</sup>llāś dēva, whereupon the latter had to use force to realise it. (Ep. Cann., Vol.VIII, Sb.425).

ly independent of the central authority. Education, Religion and even the administration of justice were looked after by these bodies and even the security of the village was their concern. Therefore the State, though unitary in character, did not allow absolute authority to the king. He had his limitations prescribed more by practice than by law, and could not go beyond them without the risk of being thrown out, though such examples are quite rare. The decentralisation of government made the people conscious of their duties and responsibilities, and they always rose to the occasion. It has been rightly remarked by S.K. Ayyangar that 'While the form of Hindu government may be described as a monarchy and even an autocracy and while it may readily even be conceded that the Hindu monarchy had autocratic powers for application in times of emergency, the actual use of the power was made in a way to satisfy the exacting demands even of a pure and complete democracy not only in form but more completely in spirit and that is what is really wanted, not the mere form of it.'

We may now proceed to see the functions of these different limbs in the Sēṇa government.

#### The King:

The office of the king was naturally the most important one. In fact, the whole structure of the government depended upon it, supported, of course, by the ministers and generals. The most important quality that was expected of a king was valour or the physical strength accompanied by military skill. Protection of his land and people was his primary duty while territorial

expansion was a matter of policy. All the Sēūpa kings bore, among others, the title praudha-pratāpa (a person of matured strength) indicative of the essential character of the head of State. In the numerous descriptions of the kings and of the wars they fought, the dominant theme is the ambitions of the kings to achieve more and their ability to translate them into reality. A king bereft of this quality had no right to be on the throne. A stronger and more capable man would emerge and wield the reigns of the State. That is how Sēūpa kingship was transferred to the 'virtuous' Bhīllama, the first independent sovereign of the dynasty, who wrested the kingdom from his pitṛivya. Such changes, it seems, were <sup>accepted</sup> ~~approved~~ by the people since they were in their own interest.

The primary duty that was enjoined upon the king was 'duṣṭa-nigraha and 'śiṣṭā-pratīpālana, to put down the wicked and protect the righteous. Then only could he rule with sukha-saṅkathā-vinōda — with happiness and harmony. To achieve this end, the king was advised to rule always with Dharma in view. Then only he could claim to rule the kingdom by sad-dharma.

In preserving internal peace danda or the arm of punishment had no mean role. Manu goes to the extent of identifying danda with Dharma itself. <sup>5</sup> Punishing the wicked was the bounden duty of ~~the~~

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5 Manusmṛiti. VII, 18.

the king. But danda alone could not assure tranquility. Severity of the danda would create fear in the minds of the subjects and dissuade them from doing wrong; but harmony in society was ensured by the benevolence of the king towards his people. The emperor Asoka declared that all men were his children and he took it upon himself to give happiness and prosperity to all.<sup>6</sup> That was the ideal of the medieval kings also. Essentially based on the class-system, society consisted of different types of people, adhering to different professions and the king could not favour one to the exclusion of the other. There were people following different religious faiths. Whatever his personal leanings be, the king was to be tolerant. That is how we learn that in the Sāūpa country, the Jaina monasteries, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples and the Bauddha viḥāras, existed side by side, each receiving royal favour in the form of occasional visits and regular grants for their maintenance.

The king was the patron of Art and Letters too, promotion of cultural life being one of his duties. Thus we find Singha appointing Chaṅgaḍēva as the chief astronomer in his court. Hēma-dri, the most learned of the day, held a high office in the government. Agrahāras, the centres of learning and education, were created in numerous places and provision was made for their regular maintenance. Indeed, subjects like Education were not the direct responsibility of the State but were looked after by the public of

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6 Kalinga (Jauguda) Edict, C.I.I., Vol.I, (Ed. Hultzsch), pp. 111-12.



their own accord; but it was certainly the responsibility of the government to see that they continued without hindrance. Singhana<sup>7</sup> called himself Sāhitya-chaturāṇa and the famous work on music Saṅgīta-ratnākara was written in his court.

Another responsibility of the king was to see that the existing social order was not disturbed and to create a sense of safety among the people. Here again Dharma played an important part. According to the ideal of the medieval days enmity existed between two individuals and not the righteous deeds done by them for Dharma had no enemy at all. We often find this beautiful verse in inscriptions enjoining every conqueror to follow this maxim, thus:

Śatruṇā-pi kṛitō dharmah pālaniyah prayatnatah |  
Śatru-eva hi śatru-svāt dharmah śatru-na kasyachit ||<sup>8</sup>

The temples built by the Chālukyas were maintained by the Sēūna kings who gave grants to them. The Agrahāra of Hāvēri instituted by Chālukya Sōmēsvara I was maintained by the Hoysalas also and later, when perhaps due to political upheavals it had fallen into disused and the grants were irregular, —————→

~~But~~ <sup>9</sup> Ghāṇḍarāya, one of the ministers of Kannara, promptly revived it.

Benevolant attitude of the kings helped to keep the social order intact and the change of administration due to the conquest of one dynasty by the other little affected the common man. The same administrative units such as the provinces, districts and other smaller units were retained and the powers and privileges of the local bodies <sup>left</sup> ~~kept~~ unaffected. The governors and other officers continued in their respective offices, except, of course, a few who were reluctant to accept the new rule. Mallidēva refused to recognise the Sēūna rule when Ehillama became the king and he stuck to his allegiance to the defeated Chālukya ruler even as late as in 1193 A.D. by dating his inscriptions in the regnal years of <sup>the</sup> Chālukya emperor. But such instances were few and they scarcely disturbed the day to day life.

Piety was another essential quality of the king. Religion in India, particularly in early days, pervaded every activity of human life, social or political. The foremost function of the king therefore was to promote the growth of religion. That the Sēūnas zealously followed this principle is clear from the fact that they visited the holy places and liberally donated lands and money to the religious institutions. They were of a religious disposition, calling themselves (to be) the worshippers of the feet of their tutelary deity, ~~as were the Sēūnas of~~ god Sāraṅgapāṇi (Sāraṅga-pāṇipād-apadmārādhaka). They used to attend the dharmakathās or religious discourses and entertain worthy priests as their gurus.

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The religious fervor<sup>or</sup> of Kannara is well depicted in his title Vēdōddhāraka. The following words in which he is described speaks<sup>10</sup> of the qualities expected of a king worth the throne:

Śrīmat Kandhara-chakravarti jasamaṁ viśvambharā-bhāgaḥ |  
prēmaṁ prārthi-janaṅgaḥ | vachanamāṁ Naiyāyakanikadoḥ |  
śhēmaṁ bāhulatā-vṛit-āvaniyoḥ | vīrāriyoḥ vīramāṁ  
[Bhūmīsam sale] baṇṇisaḥ | neradapaṁ praudhapratāpōdayam ||

i.e., the king should act in such a way that his fame spreads all over the world; show affection towards the needy; take part in scholarly discussions, establish peace and tranquility in the country and exhibit <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ prowess before a strong enemy.

#### Succession and Training:

Hereditary method of succession to the throne provided the prince with good opportunity to receive training in administration. Even during the time of <sup>the reigning King</sup> ~~his predecessor~~ he would be designated heir-apparent, and thus by taking active part in the affairs of the kingdom, he could acquaint himself with the intricacies of ~~the~~ governmental machinery.

Ordinarily, the right of throne <sup>volu</sup> ~~de~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~for~~ on the eldest son of the ruling king and he was usually styled yuvarāja. Instances where the son other than the eldest was earmarked for succession are also not wanting. For instance, the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, though he was not the eldest son, was chosen <sup>by</sup> ~~for~~ his father to succeed him. Sometimes the position of yuvarāja was bestowed upon the brother of

the ruling king such as in the case of Mahādēva, the brother of Kannara, perhaps because the latter's son was too young. The status of yuvarāja was sometimes indicated by the title Kumāra prefixed to his name.

The Yuvarāja presumably was educated by the learned teachers who were generally designated rājagurus. The ministers and generals trained him in administrative matters and the art of warfare. Singhana, for instance, received training in handling elephants by the general Janārdana.<sup>11</sup>

The Yuvarāja's position was sometimes indicated by the prefixing the title Kumāra to his name. When the son at the time of the death of his father was too young to shoulder the responsibilities of the kingdom, the brother of the deceased king used to take charge of the administration, sometimes as the regent, and as king at other times. But the accepted procedure was that the son when <sup>became</sup> ~~came~~ of age would take charge from his uncle. In <sup>in such cases,</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Sūna history, disturbance of this procedure once resulted in a civil war and the occupation of the throne by force. When Kannara died, his brother Mahādēva ascended the throne, presumably because Kannara's son Rāmachandra was still quite young. At the death of Mahādēva, the throne was to go to Rāmachandra. But Āmana, the son of Mahādēva claimed it for himself, thus forcing Rāmachandra to use all means to assert his right. When <sup>the only</sup> ~~son of the~~ <sup>a</sup> ruling king had ~~no~~ died a premature death, the succession went to the grandson as in the case of Kannara, the grandson of Singhana. When again the king had no male issues, the daughter would become the next heir as has been witness-

ed in the instance of Rudramadēvi, the daughter of Kākatiya king Ganapati.

The position of Yuvarāja was an important one. <sup>12</sup> Śukrāchārya describes him as the right hand, right eye and right ear of the king, indicating the confidence the king placed in him. He was actually associated with the affairs of the kingdom and at times of war he used to lead the army under ~~the~~ instructions from the king or accompany the latter. In the Sēūṇa house, Siṅghaṇa was actively associated with the administration of the kingdom in the life-time of his father Jaitugi I. Kannara<sup>13</sup> likewise was taking part in wars before he came to the throne.

#### Joint Rulership:

Joint rulership does not seem to have been favoured by the theorists, apparently because it ~~would~~ <sup>joint rulers</sup> lead to the conflict of rights and the consequent feuds between the ~~two kings~~. <sup>13</sup> Though such instances of joint-rule are rare, Sēūṇa history provides ones. We have seen above that Mahādēva was a yuvarāja during the reign of Kannara. This position he was holding during the early part of the latter's rule. He seems to have been jointly ruling with him in the later days with equal rights as is stated by an inscription as well as by Amalānanda. <sup>14</sup> The evidence on this point is ~~almost~~ very clear. But this step of giving an equal status to his brother was not without its undesired consequences. The son of Kannara, Rāmachandra, was the rightful heir to the throne. But the throne was appropriated by Mahādēva's son Āmaṇa, who being the son of the immediate predecessor

<sup>12</sup> Śukranīti, ii.12.

<sup>13</sup> Kautilya, Arthasāstra, Adhikaraṇa VIII, Adhyāya 2, prakaraṇa 128.

<sup>14</sup> See pp.201-02 above.

claimed the kingship and actually occupied the throne. As has been observed ~~in an earlier chapter~~, this resulted in a major disturbance in the Sūna capital, ending with the murder of Āmapa and the forcible occupation of the throne by Rāmachandra.

#### Ministers:

Our ancient political thinkers gave much importance to the ministers and rightly so. Kauṭilya <sup>15</sup> likens the body of ministers to the wheel of <sup>o</sup> cart, thus stressing upon the position of the former in the administration of the country. <sup>15</sup> Śukra observed <sup>5</sup> that the ministers are a vital part of the government and that the king must take the assistance of them, even if he himself is an expert in all arts. <sup>16</sup> The epigraphical evidence also shows that the welfare of the country depended upon the ability of the ministers. An inscription of Kannara goes to say that dharma stood on all its four legs <sup>17</sup> in the country on account of his minister.

It is to be stated at the outset that neither the designation of the ministers nor the duties of each of them were fixed. Obviously the charges and responsibilities apportioned to a minister depended upon his own personality and ability. So far as the designation is concerned we may note that a prime-minister was generally called mahā-pradhāna, though sometimes he is described as sachiva-chūdāmani or amātyōttama. It cannot also be said with certainty that there used to be always one prime-minister with a group of ministers under him. For, we find many officials, at once designat-

15 Arthaśāstra, Adhikarana 1, Adhyāya 7.

16 Śukra <sup>nī</sup> ti, Adhyāya 2, verse 2.

17 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.202.

ed as mahāpradhānas and it may not be wrong to think therefore that the king used to <sup>get hold of</sup> ~~very hands~~ ~~near~~ the best brains in the country and raise them to the position of a minister placing them in charge of suitable portfolios. There might have, of course, existed a sort of a gradation in position, probably depending upon the responsibilities <sup>entrusted to</sup> ~~placed upon~~ each. Mere titles, however, do not indicate such distinctions. Neither were the duties of each clearly defined. Thus we find most of the ministers holding more than one office; for instance, if Kēsavanāyaka was just a mahāpradhāna under Siṅ-<sup>18</sup>ghana; his other minister Lakshmīdēva ~~was~~, in addition to being a <sup>19</sup> mahāpradhāna, was also a śamasta-sēnāpati and bāhattaranīyōgādhipati. A perusal of the designations appended to Bhīllama's mahāpradhāna<sup>20</sup> Nannarasa shows that he was also dēsiya dandanāyaka. The different titles given to the ministers and officials make it clear that trained and tested military skill was necessary for high officers. Hardly is there a minister whose valour is not eulogised and who is not called a dandanāyaka. We can appreciate this fact if we take into consideration the frequent incursions and invasions of enemy forces into Sēūṇa territory.

We do not know what other qualifications were expected of a minister. One virtue that was expected of him was the implicit obedience and reverence <sup>for</sup> ~~to~~ the king and ungrudging service to his cause. Each of the ministers is invariably described as the pāda-padmōpajīvi. In fact, he took pride in calling himself svāmivañcha-kara gaṇḍa (subduer of those who betray the master). Dexterity in

<sup>18</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.145.

<sup>19</sup> Ep.Ind., Vol.XXX, p.37.

<sup>20</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K.No.55.

diplomatic art (<sup>t</sup>prabhu-manrōtsāha-sakti), <sup>age to</sup> ~~was~~ patronizing literature and art (kavi-gamaki-vādi-vāgmi-viḍvaji-jana-sanātha); sheltering to the pious and the needy (dīn-ānātha-sādhu-budha-jana-svāsrit-āsā-bharaṇa), and, of course, doing good to the master (patihit-ācharaṇa) were the most essential qualifications expected of a minister.

Generally, the ministers were placed in charge of administration of one or more territorial divisions, probably in a supervisory capacity. For instance, Bīchaseṭṭi was placed in charge of the South <sup>21</sup> and his work apparently was to look to the administration and general welfare of that part of the country through the governors and other officials. Similarly, Kannara had placed his minister Chauda in charge of the southern region with instructions that he should subdue the rival kings, and he was looking after that territory from his headquarters at Puligere. <sup>22</sup> Mahāpradhāna Dēvaṇṇa was similarly entrusted with the governorship of Banavāsi by Mahādēva <sup>23</sup> who apparently was pleased with his services (prasāda-sumukhanāgi). It is interesting to note in this connection a term used in connection with the administration in the inscriptions of the period. This term is mēlālike (or mēlālke) and many of the ministers are stated to be conducting the mēlālike of one or the other division. For instance, Māyidēva in the time of Siṅghana is reported to have been <sup>24</sup> holding the Mēlālke of Banavāsi in 1215-1216 A.D. About 16 years

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21 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XV, p.387.

22 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.102.

23 Ibid., 1945-46, No.263.

24 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Hl.44 and 48.



later, i.e., in 1232 A.D.<sup>25</sup> Honnabommiseṭṭi was holding the same charge. In about 1222 A.D. Vankuva-rāhuṭṭa was governing the same province but not as mēlālīka.<sup>26</sup> This difference in expression seems to show that Mēlālīka meant, (literally at least), the supervision of the territory, the actual administration being carried out by other officials.<sup>27</sup>

For the purpose of such supervision, the ministers used to go on tours and visit different places. Thus Jaitapāla-nāyaka, a mahāpradhāna under Singheṇa, in the course of his tour of Hagaritage nāḍu, visited Tāliyakōṭe (i.e. Tālikōṭi in Bijapur District) and made<sup>28</sup> a grant of land to the god Sōmanātha of that place. It is interesting to note that his wife Māṇikadēvi also had accompanied him on his tour. For efficient administration, the ministers used to have under them subordinate officials similar to the modern secretaries or personal assistants. Bichiseṭṭi had his son-in-law Malliseṭṭi as his sarvādhikāri which term may be taken to mean 'secretary'. The latter<sup>29</sup> was instructed to institute a brahmapuri at Anṇigere. Dēvarasa, the mahāpradhāna of Mahādēva, had under him Mādarasa, who is called<sup>30</sup> rāiṇa-bhara-bhāra-nistāraka, indicating thereby that Dēvarasa had entrusted the over-all charge of the territory under his supervision, to the latter.

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25 Ibid., Hl.43.

26 Ibid., Hl.20.

27 Rice takes this term to give the<sup>is</sup> sense only. (Ibid., translation of Hl.44). But in A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, where a mēlālkey hi āri Sarvadharaṇāyaka is introduced, this term is interpreted as the officer of taxes (Ibid., B.K.No.54).

28 A.R.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K.No.65.

29 A.R.S.I.E., 1925-26, B.K.No.426.

30 Ibid. 1932-33 B.K.No.84.

The powers of the ministers were very wise<sup>d</sup>. They could on their own make appointments to <sup>lower</sup> ~~smaller~~ officers<sup>e</sup>. Māyidēva, the minister of Bhīllama, appointed Boppaṇa administrator of the division of Mūvattāru-bāḍa.<sup>31</sup> They had full authority to make grants of villages or lands or to give remission of taxes in favour of temples or other religious purposes. The same Māyidēva instituted a dharma-santhe (a charity fair) wherein the commodities sold were to be exempted from all kinds of taxes.<sup>32</sup> Such actions, however, were generally carried out with the knowledge of the king, and sometimes with his express consent. An instance ~~at present~~ may be noted here. Malliseṭṭi, the minister of Kannara, in <sup>the</sup> course of his ~~next~~ <sup>33</sup> Kaṭaka-yātrā camped at ~~Pand~~darika-kshētra on the bank of Bhīma-rathī (i.e., Paṇḍharpur near Sholapur in Maharashtra) and donated the village Tāmbrapurī to the brāhmanas for the prosperity of his master's kingdom. His son Chaudiseṭṭi, who was also a minister, <sup>34</sup> approached the king for permission which the latter graciously gave. Ministers were invested with military powers also. The Sinda chief Tsvaradēva, who was the governor of Belgutti principality, once turned hostile and the minister Honabamma-nāyaka<sup>35</sup> rushed with his army to put down the riot.

For the meritorious service ministers rendered, the king

31 Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.36.

32 Ibid.

33 Kaṭaka-yātrā is generally taken to mean a military expedition. But it is not known, in which military expedition Malliseṭṭi took part. In all probability this refers to his routine tour of the country.

34 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, p.70, lines 25 ff.

35 Ibid., Vol.VII, H1.43.

used to confer on them titles such as Yādava-rāilyāsamuddharana (the uplifter of the Yādava' (i.e. Sēūna) kingdom) and Sēūna-rāivā-bhūdaya-kārana (the cause of the rise of the Sēūna kingdom). Many a minister was referred to as the right arm of the king he served. For instance, Lakshmidēva was 'Singhanadēva-daksha-dakshina<sup>36</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>37</sup> bhūlādanda and Honnabamisetṭi also enjoyed the same title. One inscription figuratively puts it that the minister is the tongue and <sup>38</sup> the right hand of the king.

We may notice here another epithet connected with administration and appended to the minister, viz. paramaviśvāsi. This does not seem however to be a designation indicative of any particular office, but the confidence enjoyed by the person bearing it. For example, Mahāpradhāna Māyidēva is called the paramaviśvāsi<sup>39</sup> of the king. The title was not restricted to the ministers alone. Māyidēva's subordinate Hemmayanāyaka<sup>40</sup> as also Āhira-jaita, the governor of Jiddulige,<sup>41</sup> were given this epithet. Rāghavanāyaka was the paramaviśvāsi<sup>42</sup> of Sarvādhikāri Chaudisetṭi. It is interesting to note that another person who enjoyed the title of paramaviśvāsi of the king was Bhāgubāyi,<sup>43</sup> who was in the administrative charge of two or three districts. Another epithet of the same type was Sarvādhikāri indicative of the duties and responsibilities of an officer.

36 A.P.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 437.

37 A.R.S.I.E., 1944-45, B.K.No.5.

38 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, p.69.

39 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.95.

40 Ibid., Sk.95.

41 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sb.276.

42 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.55.

43 Ibid., B.K. No.144.

A number of ministers as also their subordinates were called Sarvādhikāris. The ministers Māyidēva, Bhīchiseṭṭi, Chaudiseṭṭi, Ārya Malliseṭṭi and many others were all Sarvādhikāris and the governor Bhāgubāyi was also one such. Dasavanta-dandanāyaka was the sarvādhikāri of Māyidēva.<sup>44</sup> Lakshmidēva was the sarvādhikāri of Vāsudēva<sup>45</sup> who was the subordinate of Nāmachandra.

Thus it may be said in general that the role of ministers in the administrative machinery was very vital and the peace and prosperity of the kingdom depended to a great extent upon their ability and intelligence as administrators as well as warriors. The description of the Sēūpa ministers which occurs in numerous inscriptions of the period shows that they filled their posts with commendable ability.

#### Provincial Administration

For the purpose of efficient administration, the Sēūpa kingdom was divided into different provincial units. These were further divided into smaller divisions, the smallest unit of administration being the village. The different divisions had their administrative heads, the lower being responsible to the higher authority in turn. It is to be noted in this connection that the heads of provinces were of two types: those directly appointed by the king and the feudatory chiefs of different families who were the hereditary rulers of their own territories owing allegiance to the overlord.

As observed in an early context, one noteworthy point

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44 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.135.

45 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.376.

in the medieval polity was that when a king conquered a particular territory, he did not always replace the ruler of that territory by his own men. On the other hand, he allowed the conquered to continue to exercise his authority over the area ~~only~~, with due recognition of the conqueror. Thus, for instance, the Bel<sup>a</sup>gutti chiefs, who were defeated by Siṅghana, continued to rule over their principality. The Haihaya chiefs of Moraṭa likewise remained in their hereditary territory while they recognised the overlordship of Siṅghana.

A notable feature of the provincial administration by such feudatories was that though they owed allegiance to the ruling king, they were for practical purposes almost independent of the central authority. They had their own ministers and other civil and military officials and they carried on the administration independently of the king, who except in grave situations did not ~~also~~ interfere. Bijjarasa, the Kadamba feudatory at Karadikal<sup>46</sup> had a minister called Māḷeyanāyaka. The Haihaya chief Mallarasa's subordinate was Bēchi<sup>47</sup>seṭṭi. ~~But~~ Though considerable independence was allowed to the feudatories, general supervision, it seems, was entrusted to the ministers of the king. For instance, though Karadikal division was under Kadamba Bajjarasa even during the reign of Siṅghana, a record<sup>48</sup> of 1207 A.D. shows Lakshmīdēva, as the officer in charge of that territory. Similarly, another Kadamba branch was exercising authority over Nūrumbāḍa, a small district in the province of Banavāsi; but Siṅghana's minister Honnabommi<sup>49</sup>seṭṭi had authority over that district also. As the governor of Banavāsi province, Honnabommi-

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46 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.253.

47 Ibid., 1957-58, No.B 380.

48 A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.51.

49 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.B 95.

setṭi had control over the feudatory chiefs, the Sindas, who governed the principality of Bel<sup>50</sup>gutti. Bichisetṭi, likewise, had control over the Guttas.<sup>51</sup>

Provinces under the direct control of the king were administered by the generals appointed by him. The succession to the governorship of such provinces was not always hereditary, though there are instances of this system. Transfer of governors from one province to the other was also in vogue. For instance, the province of Bana-<sup>52</sup>vāsi, ~~for the first time~~, was governed by Māyidēva in 1216 A.D. while in 1222 A.D.<sup>53</sup> Vankuva-rāhuta headed it and in 1232 A.D. Honnabommi-<sup>54</sup>setṭi took charge. The division of Tardavādi was governed by Sōyi-<sup>55</sup>dēva in 1192 A.D. while in 1199 A.D.<sup>56</sup> Sankarasa was its governor. Later, the same office was held by Saḥadēva.<sup>57</sup> In 1244 A.D., Bhāgu-<sup>58</sup>bāyi was governing the same division.

Some officials, perhaps by dint of merit, rose to higher position. For instance in 1290 A.D. Brahmaḍēva was serving under Jōyidēva, who was the sarvādhikāri of Rāmachandra.<sup>59</sup> After about 10 years Jōyidēva himself became the sarvādhikāri of the king.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the usual official designations such as sarvādhikāri, adhikāri, pradhāna etc., inscriptions refer to some terms

50 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Hl.43.

51 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XV, pp.383 ff.

52 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Hl.48.

53 Ibid., Hl.20.

54 Ibid., Hl.43.

55 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.43.

56 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.131.

57 Ibid., 1930-31, B.K.No.23.

58 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.144.

59 S.M.H.D., Vol.I, p.79.

60 Ibid., p.80.

which denote some office but the exact import of which it is difficult to make out. Following are some such:

Mahāpasāyita (<sup>o</sup>pasāyata): Hemmēyanāyaka was holding this office in addition to being a sarvādhikāri under Māyidēva.<sup>60</sup> The office is supposed to denote 'robe master.' Kājādhyaṅksha: when we find that a Lakkhaṇanāyaka held this post together with that of a karāṇa<sup>62</sup> we are tempted<sup>t</sup> to believe that this office pertained to the State records.<sup>63</sup> Rāyabhāri: Probably this office was that of a private secretary, rather than a messenger as the word means. Karāṇa or Śrīkarāṇa denoted the office of the record-keeper. Hēmādri, the minister of Mahādēva and Rāmachandra, is stated to have held this post. Mudrādhikāri was an officer who was in charge of the royal seal.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Ōleya in the name Ōleya Chīṇiṣcṭṭi occurring in an inscription is interesting. It seems to mean that he was entrusted with the work of carrying messages from one place to the other.

#### Provinces and Divisions:

It has been remarked above that the country was divided into different units for the <sup>convenience</sup> ~~facility~~ of administration. It may be noted in this connection that no strict principle was observed in so dividing. Administrative convenience rather than ~~more than~~ anything else,

61 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.95.

62 Ibid., Vol.XI, Dg.88 and A.E.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.122; Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, p.322.

63 A.R.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 474.

64 An officer is called the mudrādhikāri of four disāvaras (districts?) Kr.Ins., Vol.I, p.71.

65 Śivadēvavijaya? Appendix.

seems to have been the criterion in forming the units. The units so formed were generally termed Dēśa and Nāḍu, e.g., Kuntaladēśa, Banavāsi-dēśa, Tardavāḍi-nāḍu and the like. The term kampana was used to denote a smaller division.

The divisions were generally named after their headquarters, suffixing the number of villages included in that division. Thus for example, we get names of divisions such as Banavāsi 12000, Palasī 12000 and the like. A problem ~~then~~ arises about the number of villages so grouped. Did these divisions really contain so many villages in them? It seems improbable, taking the area into consideration and the size of the villages according to the present day standards. Therefore, a number of suggestions have come to be made to explain this system. According to Rice, the figures referred to the revenue of the divisions,<sup>66</sup> while the other suggestion was that, the number stood for the population.<sup>67</sup> Pran Nath suggested that the figures indicated the estates.<sup>68</sup> Even though it appears rather curious to think that small divisions contained so large a number of villages, the figures seem to denote the number of villages contained in these divisions. Probably, the village as a unit was quite small. For a Sēūna record, while referring to a village Kukkanūr which was the headquarters of a division of 30, calls it 'triṃśad-grām-ādhipati<sup>69</sup> Kukkanūr' thus clearly stating that it was a division of 30 villages.

The main divisions of the Sēūna kingdom were Nolambavāḍi 32000,

66 Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p.238.

67 Altekar: The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their times, p.140.

68 A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p.26.

69 J.B.E.R.A.S., Vol.XII, p.43.



which contained in it among others, a small division of Bikkiga-70;<sup>k</sup> Banavāsi 12000, with smaller divisions like Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70, Nūrum-bāḍa, Sattalige 70 and others; Palasige 12000, with Sabbi 30; Karahāḍa 4000, Kūṇḍi 3000, Miringe 3000, Srīnagara 2500, with Sangamanēr 84, which formed part of it; Tardavāḍi 1000, with Bāge 50, Mūvatt-ārabāḍa and Tamba 6; Sindavāḍi 1000; Belvola 300 and Puligere 300; Kaṇāmbaḍe 300, Hagaritage 300; Morata 300, Araḷu 300; Māsavāḍi 140; Bāsavura 140; and Kālāḍi 96. A study of these divisions with their identifications, wherever possible, is made in Appendix III below.

#### Village Administration and Non Official Bodies:

The village administration was an interesting phenomenon in the administrative system of medieval Deccan. They were self-contained units with their own administrative set up which depended not so much on the government officials as on the local non-official bodies. The learned men of the village and the tradesmen, agriculturists and such other people formed themselves into guilds and in addition to their vocations, looked after the affairs of the place, <sup>they</sup> be ~~the~~ political, social, religious or cultural. These groups were known as mahājanas, Nakharas, Settis and Settiguttas, Mummuridandas, Okkalus, Hiṭṭu and the like.

On the official level, the head of the village was the gāvunḍa which is the same as the Sanskrit Grāmakūṭa. He was also known as Heggade or Peggade, prabhu, mahāprabhu and nāl-prabhu. It appear<sup>s</sup> that the term ūroḍeya or 'the master of the town' was applicable<sup>70</sup> to him only. Though inscriptions are not very clear about the

duties and responsibilities of the gāvunda, it is certain that his was a responsible post and no activity of the village escaped his notice. Security of the village was one of his important duties. In the cattle raids he would send his men or take part himself to save the village property and prestige. To see that the revenues due to the government <sup>we</sup> are paid regularly and also to see that grants made for the benefit of temples and other institutions, continued without hindrance or interference were also his duties. It is not an exaggeration therefore to find him described as the father and mother of the village.<sup>71</sup> The office of the gāvunda was hereditary and he was granted lands by way of remuneration for his work.<sup>72</sup>

Another office of equal importance in the village was that of the Karana or Sēnabōva. If the duty of the gāvunda was to look to the security of the village, that of the Sēnabōva was to keep the records. Learned as he was, in addition to his duties, he was occasionally asked to draft the records (on) which were later on engraved <sup>on stones</sup>. We have numerous instances where sēnabōvas are the authors of epigraphs.<sup>73</sup>

Still another office was that of the rakshāpāla who was, as the very designation indicates, the police officer in the village. His duty obviously was to keep peace in the area under his jurisdiction. An inscription from Nidugundi refers to one such officer of that place.<sup>74</sup>

71 Sukranīti, II, 172.

72 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.117.

73 See for instance ARIE 1959-60, No.B 431.

74 Ibid., 1926.27, B.K.Nos.200-01.

But in the village life, non-official bodies already referred to above, played a very important role. By their knowledge, experience, position and personality, they wielded much influence on the people of the village and though they had no express executive authority vested in them by the king, their word was the law and their verdict was acceptable to all. The officials, nay, the king also, valued their authority.

A number of references to such bodies occur in inscriptions but still we know very little about their composition. In the Tamil area however, such bodies had reached quite an advanced stage and we have sources from which we know how they were constituted. The famous Uttaramērūr inscription which gives all the relevant information about such a sabhā, the election of its members, their qualification and the like throws much light on the subject.<sup>75</sup>

The most important of such bodies in the Deccan and in the Sēūna kingdom was that of the Mahājanas. Just as the number of villages included in a division is specified in its very name, the number of mahājanas is also specified, such as the four hundred mahājanas of Hāvēri or two hundred mahājanas of Mosalikāl and the like. It follows therefore that the number of these persons varied according to the size of the village. For instance, flourishing towns like Lokkigundi had a thousand mahājanas and some smaller places had as few as only eighteen. Further, records indicate that different localities in a particular place were represented by smaller bodies which together made one representative body for the

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75 Ep. Ind., Vol. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1904-05, pp 131 ff.

entire place. For instance, there were 250 mahājanas at Naragunda (Nargund in Ron taluk of Dharwar District) of <sup>whom</sup> ~~which~~ probably 55 represented Hēmangēri, a locality in that town. 76

The mahājanas were the cream of the intelligentia of the society, adept in all Arts and Sciences. Numerous epigraphical records speak highly of the ability and character of these ~~great~~ men.

The mahājanas formed the sabhā, or the assembly and they used <sup>assemble</sup> ~~together~~ in the local temples to discuss matters concerned the village. A Sēūna inscription calls such a sabhā a dwelling place of the goddess of learning (sarasvatī) and describes it thus:

Brahmāvāsara-asēsha-Vēdanilayaṁ vidyādharaṁ avritam  
prithvīmaṇḍala-maṇḍanam Naḷapūri rājadvijānam maha- |  
t-prakhyāta-pratibhāpara-pravibudha-prāmānika-prāśnika- 77  
prastutyam prativāsara-pratimuhuh prōdyat-sabhāmaṇḍalam ||

Such meetings of the mahājanas are referred to in inscriptions as 'sabhāmaṇṭapadolū mahāsabhevyā gi neredirdū, mahānādāgi neredu, vajrabayisaṇigeyāgi kuḷḷirdū, ēkastharāgi and so on.

The mahājanas had the power to make grants. The mahājanas of Hāvēri granted land to a certain Chaudiseṭṭi who was their favourite and therefore described as their 'son' (maga). 78 Individuals desirous of making grants had to obtain their consent. Rannugidēva constructed a temple in honour of ~~the mahājanas~~ his father and made a grant of certain lands with the consent of the mahājanas and

76 ARSIE, 1933-34, No. 70

77 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.102.

78 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.106.

79

officials. In certain cases when the land was to be granted by the donor, the price of that land was fixed by the sabhā. Sāluva Tikkama for instance, purchased the land at the rates fixed by the sabhā.<sup>81</sup>

The mahājanas also acted as the custodians of the grants made by others. Numerous inscriptions recording such grants enjoin that the mahājanas and other people of the place should protect them. The mahājanas had authority to appoint village officers. Thus the mahājanas of Hāvēri appointed Lakkiseṭṭi as the heggaḍe of Kabbūr.<sup>82</sup> The mahājanas had judicial powers also. Along with other bodies in the village, they used to sit on trials and give their opinions.

Nakharas formed another prominent body in the village. As traders they played an important role in the economic affairs of the country and as an organised body they had much influence in the society. They used to set apart a good portion of their profits for religious and charitable purposes. The nakharas of Mudgal imposed on themselves regular voluntary contributions to the god, on occasions such as marriage and other social functions. Like them, the Settis, Settiguttas, Mummuridandas and Banañjuvattanas were some of the other non-official bodies.

Okkalu, with whom also, like mahājanas, different numerical figures are associated, were a body of agriculturists. We get references to bodies such as aivatt-okkalu,<sup>83</sup> and aruvatt-okkalu.<sup>84</sup>

79 K.S.P.P., Vol.28, No.1, p.7.

80 M.A.B., 1928, No.69.

81 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.59.

82 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.118.

83 Ibid., 1928-29, B.K.No.51. 84 Ibid., B.K.No.63,

(i.e. fifty okkalu and sixty okkalu).<sup>85</sup> Like the mahājanas they also formed a part of the village assembly.

In addition to these specific bodies, there were many others whose exact nature is not, however, clear. Some such are Aidu huris (five Huris), Entu-hittu or Ashta-Pishta (eight Hittu), Pancha matha-mūlasthāna, ugura munnūrvaru (<sup>u</sup>ugura 300); Dōni-sāsirvaru (Dōni 1000), Samaya-chakravarti, ubhaya-nānādesi, Kuliya-ainūrvaru (500 of kuli), adavi Kandarpa, samaya-sāsirvaru and the like.

All these bodies constituted the village assembly which was a strong and influential institution of the village. The members were respected by the rulers and were worshipped by the subjects. Māyī-dēva, the minister of Bhīllama, consulted all such bodies before instituting the dharma-santhe.<sup>86</sup> They used to gather together, to honour the heroes who died for the cause of the village. They used to decide the disputes between individuals. There is an instance when one such body together with officials met and decided a dispute between the two parties regarding the purchase of a piece of land.<sup>87</sup>

Thus the village assemblies composed of people of diverse professions acted as a whole in harmony, for the well-being of the village, looking after its defence, settling disputes, making pro-

<sup>85</sup> It may however be noted that the okkalu, primarily standing for agriculturists, denoted some trade-guilds also such as angadi okkalu, Telliga-aivatt-okkalu, etc. See Journal of the Karnatak University, Vol.IV, pp.58 ff.

<sup>86</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.37.

<sup>87</sup> See page 306-7 below.

vision for religious and cultural activities and thus promoting the spiritual and material welfare of the people. It is no wonder therefore that Elphinstone called them 'the little republics' contributing 'more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.'<sup>88</sup>

#### Law and Justice

One point of difference between the modern Governments and those of the ancient days is the absence, in the latter, of the law-making body. In the modern days we have legislative assemblies which frame and pass laws and record them in statutory books. But such a system was conspicuous by its absence in the olden days. This does not mean, however, that there were no laws at all. If by law is meant a written code, passed by a body of people and enforced by the State, such a law did not indeed exist then. Laws in those days were ~~inseparably~~ interwoven with religion, ethics and customs. Dharma was the compendium of all laws and the guiding principle of all human activities, political, social or religious. Conforming to the precepts of Dharma was the bounden duty of the ruler and the ruled. As such the sources of Hindu law were not the legislatures but the scriptures -- the Vēdas, the Epics and the Dharmasāstra on the one hand and customs and traditions on the other. Neither the king nor the ministers therefore did ever claim any legislative

<sup>88</sup> Life and Correspondence of Lord Charles Metcalfe, quoted by T.V. Mahalingam, op.cit., p.333.

powers. They were subject to the laws of Dharma as any ordinary man. The duty of the king was to see that Dharma was followed by all, and its violation was not left unpunished. He had no authority to enforce his own views; nor had he any independence himself to transgress Dharma. With the changes in customs and conventions the law also would undergo the necessary changes; but such a change naturally was slow and gradual. Such changes have been embodied in the new interpretations and commentaries of older texts "which were after all the legal recognition of the changed customs and manners of the people."<sup>89</sup>

Though then, the duty of the king and his deputies was to enforce Dharma, they had the authority to introduce fresh rules and regulations for the proper functioning of the government; viz., the rules in regard to the formation of the agrahāras, such as that the income of the area should go to the agrahāras, that government officials should not enter there (a-chāṭa-bhaṭa pravēśya) apparently without the permission of the inmates, that the latter are not to bear the residential or travelling expenses (<sup>a</sup>vasti-dāṇḍa and prayāna dāṇḍa) of the government servants (rājasēvaka); or that a stipulated tax be paid to the government by the residents of an agrahāra and the like. Regulations such as that the gamblers and prostitutes were not to be allowed to stay in the agrahāras were also enjoined. Similarly, the rules regarding the rates and collection of taxes were also to be framed by the authorities according to the needs of time and place.



## Administration of Justice

Theoretically the king <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ supposed to be the fountain-head of all justice and as such the highest authority in administering it. But apparently such a system was not practicable since it would be impossible for one person to look to all the disputes in the kingdom. Naturally, judicial powers were delegated to lower <sup>bodies</sup> ~~courts~~ and to the village assemblies. The village assemblies, though non-official in character, had the sanction of the government and much more so of the society. Constituted as they were of various representative bodies, consisting of men of character and dignity, their verdict naturally carried enough weight and generally was not challenged. Since law was represented by Dharma, the judges naturally were called the dharmādhyaakshas.

About the procedure regarding the trial of cases, not much material can be gleaned from our sources. The trials were open. The disputing parties <sup>would</sup> ~~were~~ present themselves before the assembly. Generally the oral and documentary evidences would play a vital part in judging a case, sometimes ordeals becoming decisive factors in settling the issues. A Sēūna record of 1241 A.D. reports one such case, where the parties were put to the ordeal of holding fire in hand and their truthfulness or otherwise was decided accordingly:

When maḥāmaṇḍalēśvara Lakshmīpālādēva was the governor of Nāgarakhanda, a dispute arose between Kālagauḍa and Kerayamaseṭṭi of Elabaḷḷi regarding a field in that place. The case was taken to the 'royal commission' consisting of Sarvādhikāri Kaḍuva Mahanta, Sēna-bōva Chandarasa, Pandita Madhusūdana, Manneya Bommidēvarasa, adhikāri <sup>90</sup> Rāmaya and Mallaya. They were brought before the king. Kerayama-

seṭṭi swore that he had purchased lawfully the vritti in dispute by paying money to Kālagauḍa's great-grandmother Jakkigauḍi and Gaḷaya-chaṭṭeya. Kālagauḍa denied it. The case then was referred to the body constituted of the Mahājanas of Bandanike, panchamathas, mahājanas of Tānagundūr, naḷ-prabhu Bommiṣeṭṭi, sāvanta Muddaya, Bamma-gauḍa and Mūchagauḍa of Seleyahaḷḷi, Sōvagaḍa of Yamanūr, Kiti-  
(Kirti?)seṭṭi of Baḷligāve and nakharas and mummuridaṇḍas. All these are called the dharmādhyakshas. The ordeal (dibya, i.e. divya) prob-  
ably of holding fire in hand <sup>91</sup> was prescribed; Kālagauḍa underwent the test successfully and Kereyamaseṭṭi ~~xxx~~ had to accept the deci-  
sion. The record is called Jayapatra. <sup>92</sup>

The record does not however refer to the inflict<sup>ion</sup>~~ment~~ of any punishment for Kereyamaseṭṭi for his false claim. Perhaps a cen-  
sure in the public was thought sufficient.

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record is that the king had them brought before him (arasu hididu tandali). But it appears to mean that they were produced before the governor who had the royal authority or else it may have to be be-  
lieved that the king was there camping then. But the record does not say so.

91 The expression is dibyava hididu, Divya in general means ordeal and divyam-pidi means to undergo an ordeal. See Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v. divya. Rice, however, translates the expression as 'holding the consecrated food'.

92 Another case regarding the dispute of land granted to a god and looked after by a person Ballarasa, apparently the priest of the temple, is referred to in an inscription of Rāmachandra (A.R.S.I. 1928-29, B.K.No.81). Afterwards a Kancharasa succeeded him. Perhaps as a result, a dispute arose. Unfortunately the record is in-  
complete and no details of the case which would have been added to

Like censure in the above case, expelling from society appears to have been recommended in certain cases. Though not in an actual dispute, an inscription recording a grant of land declares that the person denying the grant should be expelled from the hadinēntu samaya<sup>93</sup> and that he is like an outcaste in the country. Imposition of fines was another type of punishment. A record of Singhanaga specifies that the violation of grants would result in the paying of fines by the agriculturists. A noteworthy point in this connection is that the wrong done by a person of higher status was considered to be greater than the one done by the person of a lower status. The fines were prescribed accordingly. The record states that the violator of the grant, if he was a superior agriculturist (uttanada okkalu) was to pay 18 gadyānas of fine while the one of a lower status 12 gadyānas<sup>93a</sup> and the lowest class to pay 6 gadyānas. It follows that in addition to the consideration of the paying capacity of the culprit, better behaviour was expected of the people of higher classes.

#### Militia and Warfare

The role of the militia in the well-being of a country is always a vital one. Its importance was all the more felt in the medieval days. The kingdoms were small, often surrounded by hostile countries and therefore were exposed to the danger of onslaughts from any corner. This was particularly true of the Sēūpa kingdom. Successes as they

our knowledge of judiciary in those days are available.

93 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.378. The actual expression is Hadinēntu samayakke horagu. Dēśakke huli.

93a. Tilivalli Inscription, Op. Cit.

were to the Chālukya territory, they naturally had fierce enemies in the Hoysaḷas who were the rival claimants. In the East, the Kākā-tīyas were not in good terms. In the North again, the Cūrjaras and the Paramāras also were not in friendly terms. Naturally they had to depend on the military force for the security of the country.

The army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephant<sup>force</sup>. As a matter of convention, the chariots were also added, thus making the army (bala) fourfold (chatur-aṅga). But the latter, it appears, was rarely used for purposes of war. Indeed we get descriptions of chariots in war in Literature but inscriptions at least of the period under study are silent over <sup>them.</sup> ~~the~~. Though it is not impossible that they were put in use in some form or the other, in the battlefield, the former three, viz., ~~soldiers~~ soldiers, the horses and elephants were the most important components of the army.

Inscriptions indicate that good many elephants were employed in the Sōūna army. Bhillama is said to have had a large squad of elephants and a record of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa refers to the battle of Soratūr where Bhillama fell on the enemy with a multitude of elephants. The Hoysaḷa army also was well equipped with elephants. It was when he was on the back of <sup>an</sup> ~~the~~ elephant ~~only~~ that Ballāḷa inflicted defeat on Bhillama.<sup>94</sup> The Sūktimuktāvali says that Singhana was given training in handling the war elephants by Janārdana, the grand-father of Jalhana.<sup>95</sup> Ārya Malliseṭṭi, the minister of Singhana is stated to have captured fourteen elephants of the Hoysaḷa king Nara-simha.<sup>96</sup> Ferishta also speaks of the seizure of elephants from the

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94 A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.193.

95 P.3, verse 19.

96 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.95.

army of the Sēūnas and Hoysalas.

Cavalry formed yet another important division of the army and the number of horses employed was more than that of the elephants. The Vyavahāra-śāstra states that Bhīllama employed twelve thousand horses in the Soratūr battle against Ballāla<sup>98</sup> and the Harihar ins-<sup>99</sup>cription referring to the same battle confirms it. A record of<sup>ch</sup> Siṅghana refers to thirty thousand horses which mared<sup>100</sup> to the fort of Gutti to capture it.

Infantry formed the major part of the army. It is indeed difficult to gather from the sources at hand the method of recruiting and training these soldiers. It appears that apart from the royal army at the centre, each province and other divisions had some units stationed there, for security purposes. Thus when a local chief for some reason or the other attacked a village, the soldiers were immediately ordered to face the intruder.

#### Navy:

With the defeat of Śilāhāras, the west coast formed part of the Sēūna territory. It is likely that ~~then~~ the Sēūna king built<sup>101</sup> a naval force also. The description of Hēmadri<sup>101</sup> of the fight of Śilāhāra Sōmēśvara with Mahādēva indicates that the latter's army consisted of a fleet of ships.

Bows, arrows and spears were the main weapons used in warfare.

97 Briggs, op.cit., Vol.I, p.308.

98 Quoted in I.H.Q., Vol.I, p.308.<sup>196</sup>

99 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.25.

100 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sb.319.

101 Op.cit., verse 50 ff.

Inscriptions refer to the heroes who were experts in dhanur-vidyā, i.e., the art of using bows and arrows. They were called billālu (foot-soldiers with bows). A record, however, mentions a number of other weapons such as kanaya, kāmpara, musundi, bhindi, vāla, chāpa, chakra, śakti, khālga, tōmara and kshurika.<sup>102</sup> Though most of these are conventional weapons, it is not impossible that all or some of them were employed in fighting.

Fighting was considered a sacred duty and an honour. The soldiers were invited to go to the battle field by offering the betel leaves (vīlyā)<sup>103</sup> which meant an honour and on the day of the march the women would garland them with flowers, bless them with victory by ~~showering~~<sup>showering</sup> coloured rice (sōse)<sup>104</sup> on them. Death, if not victory (but ~~now~~<sup>never</sup> defeat) was the goal of every soldier, and turning one's back to the battle field was held with disgrace. Death while in action was a great honour. A verse occurring in numerous hero-stones <sup>sum</sup> up the idea behind this thus:

Jitēna labhyatē Lakshmīḥ mṛitō=āpi Surāṅganā  
kshaṇavidhvāmsini kāyē kā chintā maṇṇē ranē ||

A suitable memorial would be erected in the martyr's honour, sometimes with his image and with eloquent description of his heroism. When a person died in war, he died for the country and naturally, the responsibility of looking after his dependants fell on the authorities or the people for whom he sacrificed his life. That is how

102 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.240.

103 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sa.86.

104. Ibid., Sa.63.

we find that grants were conferred on him posthumously ~~thought~~ for the benefit of his family. Such grants were called nettaru godage, <sup>rewards</sup> i.e., the ~~honour~~ done for the blood he spilt for the sake of the country. Thus for instance, the <sup>105</sup> children of Kētōja were granted land for the death of their father; the hero's wife Mādavve-nāyakiti <sup>106</sup> was granted lands. Similarly, when Chinṇayya lost his life in a struggle with the hill tribes (bēdas) who attacked Mādanabāge, land was given as dīṅgarigavritti to be enjoyed by his son and brother <sup>107</sup> and later on by his descendants.

#### Forts

Forts had a very important place in the defence of the country. Battles were fought on the open grounds when the armies came face to face; but forts were utilised for storing foodgrains for the forces as also arms. When <sup>an alien</sup> ~~the~~ army laid seige to the forts soldiers would fight out the latter from within the forts.

<sup>were</sup> ~~are said to be~~ of three types - Jala-durga (water-fort), giri-durga (hill-fort) and vana-durga (forest-fort). <sup>108</sup> Jala-durga <sup>109</sup> apparently meant a fort surrounded on all sides by water, and a giri-durga was ~~not~~ one built on the top of a hill or mountain. The Sēūna records refer, though in a conventional way, to all those types of forts. The Sēūnas did have the first two types of them. <sup>110</sup> at least one Jala-durga stands even today by the very name (Jaldurg)

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105 A.R.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 418.

106 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sa.63.

107 Ibid., Vol.VII, H1.118.

108 T.V.Mahalingam, op.cit., p.273.

in Lingsugur taluk of the Raichur District. This is surrounded on all sides by the deep waters of the Krishnā and is almost inaccessible except in mid-summer. The fort is reported to have contained two Sēūna epigraphs.<sup>109</sup> Banavāsī again was a jala-durga surrounded by the river Varadā, a beautiful <sup>e</sup>description of which is found in the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.

The best example of Sēūna giri-durga is the fort of their capital Dēvagiri itself. But this fort does not appear to have been so well situated for security. Ferishta says that at the time of Alā-ud-dīn's first invasion of Dēvagiri, it had no ditch, which usually surrounds the forts making it impossible for the enemies to enter.<sup>110</sup> Some of the other strategic forts in the Sēūna kingdom were the forts of Lokkiguṇḍī (Lakkuguṇḍī), Gutti and Tilivallī.

#### Intelligence Service :

Employment of messengers and getting intelligence information from within and outside had been a ~~long~~ long practice in all countries. An inscription of Chālukya Sōmēśvara II clearly puts it that Bhuvanaikamalla Vīra Nolamba Udāyaditya, the subordinate of the king, returned after his conquest to his headquarters at Belligāve and called his messengers (suddikāra) to get from them information <sup>111</sup> (vārtāprapañcha) regarding the country. We know that the Vāghēla

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109 My efforts to copy these inscriptions in <sup>the</sup> course of <sup>my</sup> survey of Lingsugur taluk have failed because of the inaccessibility of the spot. The information of the existence of the records was obtained by me through a bulletin on Hyderabad State, shown to me by my esteemed friend Shri Narayanachar Jagirdar, an advocate of Lingsugur

110 Briggs, op.cit., p.306 and foot-note.

111 A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.75. Antu pokku- - -



chiefs Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavaḷa employed spies to foil the attempts of Siṅghana to attack the Gūrjara territory with the connivance of Śaṅkha. Similarly, Muslim chronicles say that Alā-ud-dīn, before marching to the Deccan, got information regarding the conditions there through his people.

#### Relations with neighbouring countries

In the medieval days relations between any two kingdoms were almost always hostile. It was generally believed that the greatness of a king depended upon his heroism and exploits. True, the exigencies of circumstances required bravery on the part of the king and the safety of the country depended upon his personal strength backed by that of the army; and it was his duty to follow the kṣhātra-dharma, viz. fighting. But it appears that this principle was followed to such a length that it became detrimental to their own interests. This was the case with the Sēūnas. They were at daggers with all their neighbours, though sometimes for defence only. From the days of Bhīllama down to the last king Rāmachandra, raids were led into the Gūrjara and Mālava territories even <sup>when</sup> in the later days those countries were shaken by the Muslim onslaughts. The eastern border was also war-worn. The Sēūna and the Kākatīya armies were constantly at war to the advantage of neither. In the south, the Hoysaḷas and the Sēūnas made mutual inroads into one another's territory. This sort of hostile relations among themselves was exploited by the Muslims who found it easy to ravage all these countries. Each of these kings was strong enough to repel the ~~other and~~

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sthāna-maṇṭapadaḷ-ōḷagaṁgottu vīra-Nolaṁbam Virameḷāpakadolirdu  
vārtā-prapaṇchamam taṇṭama suddikāraṇi kēḷdu.

enemy and the union of all would have never allowed the alien forces into the Southern soil. But such an idea never struck the Hindu kings. The idea of unity was something very foreign to them. Forming alliances, however, was not unknown to them, but it was only to subdue their own neighbours. Singhana, for instance, made an alliance with the Lāṭa chief Śaṅkha,<sup>but</sup> the intention was to attack the Gūrjaras!

Treaties also were entered into in order to stop fighting. We know of one such treaty between Singhana and the Vāghēlā chiefs when the former attacked the Gūrjara country.<sup>112</sup> A record of Hoysala Sōmēśvara<sup>113</sup> refers to the negotiations (sandhāna) carried on by a Malayāli merchant Kuṇjunabiseṭṭi<sup>114</sup> to bring peace between the Hoysalas and the northern king who is supposed to have been the Sēūna. It is not however known if Kunjunambi ever accomplished the object, though the epigraph credits him with success.

#### Military Personnel:

The king who was the supreme head of the State was also the head of the Military force. But the organisation was actually conducted by a corps of officers of different grades and status. It has been observed earlier that the ministers were generally invested with the office of the general. It is not possible, however, to know the exact designations or cadres of different officials. The supreme head of the army was called samasta-sainyādhipati, or

112 See pages 163-64 above.

113 Ep.Carn., Vol.V, Ak 108.

114 Coelho, op.cit., pp.194-95.

sakala-sainyādhīpati or mahādandanāyaka. The designation rāya-  
dandanātha shows that he was the general of the king who was the  
head of the military also. Sāluva Tikkamma is described as saṁasta-  
sainyādhīpati of the house (mane) of Rāmachandra. <sup>115</sup> Similarly,  
another person whose name is lost is called the kannaradēvarāya-  
mandira-nījasēnāpati. <sup>116</sup> which seems to mean that he was the sēnāpati  
of the house (mandira) of Kannara. But the terms mane and mandira  
here appear to have been used figuratively to indicate the kingdom.  
Otherwise, it is rather incongruous that Sāluva Tikkama who was one  
of the famous ministers of Mahādēva and Rāmachandra was just the  
head of the army of the house which probably means the palace  
guards.

Dandanāyaka appears to indicate the officer next in cadre, <sup>117</sup>  
while Daḷavāyi might designate an officer subordinate to Danda-  
nāyaka. While these officers were in charge of the whole army,  
there were others who were heads of separate units. They seem to  
have been known as sāhani or Paṭṭasāhani <sup>118</sup> which is the same as  
sādhani in Sanskrit. <sup>119</sup> Sāhanādhīpati also seems to be identical  
with Paṭṭasāhani or sāhani. It is not possible to ascertain the  
exact import of this term. But designations like Hasti-sādhani  
and asva-sādhani and <sup>k</sup> Kari-turaga-sāhani or sāhanādhīpati indicate  
the officers concerned were in charge of the elephant force or

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115 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.59.

116 Ibid., Dg.103.

117 Ibid., VIII, Sb.136; A.R.S.I.E., 1942-43, B.K.No.14.

118 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, H1.48.

119 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.157.

cavalry or sometimes both.<sup>120</sup> For example, Lakshmidēva, the minister<sup>121</sup> of Siṅghana was holding this post. Similarly, the designation<sup>122</sup> śamasta-hastipakadhyaṁśha applied to Hēmadri, the famous minister of Mahādēva and Rāmachandra, indicates that he was also holding a similar post.

The footsoldier was simply called the ālū<sup>123</sup> while the one using the bows and arrows was known as billālū (i.e., the archer)<sup>124</sup>.

The forts were in the charge of officers known as durgādhipati, and it is interesting to note that a Sūna record names a woman<sup>125</sup> named Mahādēvi as holding this office.

## II FINANCE

Kōśa has been rightly considered as one of the limbs of the body politic by ancient political thinkers. No government can be efficient without strong financial foundation.<sup>S</sup> People supply<sup>ied</sup> the bulk of the finance through taxes to the government which has to be spend<sup>t</sup> for their welfare. Taxes formed the main bulk of the ~~national~~ income which was augmented by occasional fines and penalties imposed on the wrongdoers. Another form of income in the medieval governments was the booty acquired through the conquests of other countries. But this income could not, however, be a regular source, nor could it be depended upon always.

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120 Probably the word sādhanaika means a Trainer.

121 K.S.P.P., Vol.XXVIII, p.3.

122 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIII, p.202.

123 M.A.R., 1935, p.113, No.39.

124 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.103.

125 Ibid., Vol.VIII, Sb.137.

Manu and other authors lay down certain principles regarding the method of taxation, the most important of all such principles, which all the authorities insist upon being that the taxes should not be a burden to the payer. The king was to be like a bee<sup>126</sup> to suck the honey, but not spoil the flower. They recommend exemptions from taxes in deserving cases. Our sources reveal that these principles were generally followed and, at least in the Sēūṇa period, no evidence has as yet come forth to show that the people were heavily taxed and unrest on that account was caused. On the other hand, numerous instances of exemption from taxes for charitable, educational and religious purposes show that money flowed into the Treasury easily and that there was no occasion for the authorities to squeeze the subjects. But it is to be admitted at the outset that with the sources at our disposal which are mostly epigraphical, it is not possible to have an exact and complete picture though a perusal of these records do give a glimpse of their economic conditions then.

Taxes were of various kinds such as taxes on cultivable land and residential sites, on produce, on property including cattle, on merchandise, their sale and purchase, tolls on the imported goods for marketing and the like.

#### Land Revenue

From ages, India has been an agricultural country and naturally people as well as the government depend upon their maintenance mainly on land. The bulk of the revenue that accrued to the Sēūṇa

government also came from the land only.

To assess land revenue whether in cash or kind, land is first to be surveyed, the units fixed depending on the type of land and its yield. In the period under study also, such methods were followed, though not with accuracy and uniformity.

#### Type of Land

Land was classified into different varieties, based on the types of soil and the relative fertility. Following are the types of land mentioned in the Sēūpa records:

Gadde.— Wet land for growing paddy, generally situated near  
a river or tank with irrigation facilities. <sup>127</sup>

Makki.— This stands for rice-fields, perhaps not irrigated. <sup>128</sup>

Ere.— Black soil-land used for growing wheat, cotton, ground-  
nuts and the like. <sup>129</sup>

Beddale.— Probably dry land. <sup>130</sup>

Kengādu.— Red soil.

#### Unit of land:

~~Now~~ the units of lands so classified were Nivartana, Mattar, Hāda and Kamma or Kāmba. The term nivartana though perhaps originally meant 'the extent of land bounded by a line travelled by a

127 The term is in vogue even today in the same sense. The earlier form is galde.

128 See Kittel, Kannada-English Dictionary, s.v. Makki.

129 The term is in use now also in the same sense.

130 Now known in north Karnataka are as Masāyī and generally less fertile than black-soil land.

person starting from a particular point and coming back to it with-  
in a specified time,<sup>131</sup> later on was also used to represent a unit  
of land covering a specified area. For instance, an inscription of  
Singhana states that some nivartanas of land were given in grant  
and the nivartana was measured by the rod used for the purpose of  
measurement in the territory concerned (tad-dēsa-prasiddha-dandēna)<sup>132</sup>  
An inscription of Bhillama refers to danda-nivartana-sata,<sup>133</sup> indi-  
cating thereby that the nivartana was a unit of land measured by a  
particular danda or rod. A record of Singhana specifies the nivar-  
tana as being equal to one bāchividiya-gale, which was a measuring  
rod, 48 spans in length (Nivartana-pramāṇa-nālvattentugēnu bāchivi-  
dya gale).<sup>134</sup>

Mattar, also called Mattal or sometimes matta, was another  
measuring unit of land very commonly figuring in medieval Kannada  
records. Though the ratio between nivartana and mattar is not known,<sup>135</sup>  
it is not unlikely that they represented the same unit. The next  
smaller unit in land measurement was Hāda and smaller still was  
Kamma. Details given in certain records show that 25 Kammas made  
a hāda and 4 hādas (made a mattar) or 100 kammas made a mattar.<sup>136</sup> Hāda  
does not figure in inscriptions as frequently as the other two  
units, mattar and kamma.

Land Measure .

Though these units were in vogue throughout the Sēūṇa coun-

131 T.V. Mahalingam, South Indian Polity, p.150.

132 J.B.R.R.A.S., Vol.XV, p.388.

133 S.M.H.D., Vol.I, p.5.

134 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXIV, p.41, text line 85.

135 Generally the term nivartana figures in inscriptions written  
in Sanskrit language and Mattar in those written in Kannada only.

try, it is not to be taken to mean that these units were of uniform size throughout. On the other hand, there is clear evidence to show that the size varied from area to area, and a particular measure of land was in use in a particular area in a particular time. That is how, we have seen above, an inscription specifically stated that the nivartana was measured by the rod in use in the particular territory (tad-dēsa prasiddha-dandēna).

Lands were measured by rods and these rods varied in sizes. The size or the length of the rod is specified in certain cases.  
The bāchivīḍiya ghale<sup>137</sup> referred to above measured 48 spans (gēnu). But it is interesting to note that even this rod bāchivīḍi was not of a standard size. For instance, an inscription of Siṅghana refers<sup>138</sup> to bāchivīḍiya ghale which was 36 spans in length. Still another reference to bāchivīḍiya ghale is found in a record of Kāmachandra. Here the said ghale is called dānachintāmaniya ghale. The ghale was apparently named after dānachintāmani which perhaps was a personal name or a title, more probably the latter. This bāchivīḍi measured 32 spans (Mūvattāru gēnu bāchivīḍiyalu Dānachintāmaniya ghaleyenisuva ā ghaleyalu).<sup>139</sup> Some other measuring units of different sizes were rods measuring 27 spans<sup>140</sup> and 52 spans.<sup>141</sup> It appears that<sup>a</sup> span or gēnu was commonly used for measuring though we have one instance in which ghale seems to have measured in length 18 māru

136 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.135. The equation is arrived at on the details given in this inscription. Some times such details in some other records defy any such attempts.

137 Ghale or gale meant a rod.

138 A.R.S.I.E. 1928-29, B.K.No.50.

139 Ibid. 1933-34, B.K.No.138. 140 Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.No.55; A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.240.



(i.e., the distance between the tips of the middle ~~finger~~ <sup>142</sup> fingers of both the stretched hands) by the hands of the daṇḍanāyaka.

There were other measuring units which did specify the size but were named after gods, individuals or places. Mānikēśavada <sup>143</sup> kōlu or the rod of Mānikēśava which is referred to in good many records, <sup>143</sup> was apparently a rod used for measuring the land in the town or territory where the temple of Mānikēśvara was situated and therefore named after the god. Kannēśvara-gōlu <sup>144</sup> was also a similar rod named after the god Kannēśvara. Gangana ghalē <sup>145</sup> and Bāchavodey r kolu were the rods named after the individuals. Kachchhaviya galē is an example of the rod named after places, Kachhavi being a village (now known as Kachavi) in Hirekerur taluk of Dharwar District. It appears that the rod was in use in that village during the time of Singhana. <sup>146</sup> Dharanidēvana kōlu <sup>147</sup> appears to refer to the rod approved by the dharanidēva, i.e., the king. || It may compare favour-<sup>148</sup> ably with Rājamāna and Benkolivana kōlu occurring in some records which also seem to refer to the king. Different communities probably used to have their own rods for measuring purposes. Thus <sup>149</sup> appears in an inscription of Singhana a pārvara kōlu referring to the pārvasa, i.e., brāhmanas. Similarly was the rod Tigulara

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141 A.R.S.I.E., 1926, No.426.

142 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 545.

143 See for instance, A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.159; Ibid. 1936-37, B.K.No.30; Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.47 etc.

144 Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, p.322.

145 A.R.S.I.E. 1938-39, B.K.No.65.

146 M.A.R., 1928, No.69.

147 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 670.

148 A.R.S.I.E., 1930-31, B.K.No.1; Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.181.

149 r.In . Vol.II .133.

150 was  
ghale ✓ in use among the Tigula or Tamil community settled in the  
Sāūpa kingdom. One other rod that was in use was called hiriya kōlu.<sup>151</sup>  
If this is taken to mean a big rod, it may indicate the existence of  
smaller ones also. But no reference has so far been found to sub-  
stantiate it.

As a contrast to the measuring of agricultural land, stand-  
ardisation to some extent was achieved in the case of measuring house  
sites. These were called nivēsana or maneya-nivēsana and were gen-  
erally measured by the hand of particular persons. Though the size  
of hand varies from person to person, the difference will not be so  
much as between the rods measuring 27 spans and 48 or 52 spans. We  
find numerous examples where house-sites were measured by hand and  
granted to individuals. Thus, in one instance, reference is made to  
a house-site, 24 hands long (24 kaiya nīlada mane)<sup>152</sup> and in another,  
to a site 20 hands broad and 50 hands long.<sup>153</sup> Nivēsana measuring  
50 square hands was also once granted.<sup>154</sup>

#### Tax on Land:

Taxes were collected in kind as well as in cash. The rate  
of assessment apparently depended on the yield of the land. In nu-  
merous grants of lands and house-sites we find that they were made  
free from tax (a-kara). This goes to show that lands were taxed.  
For instance, on the occasion of his coronation, Mahādēva granted a  
village with all privileges including sulka which meant tax on pro-

150 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Ci.No.21.

151 A.R.S.I.E. 1933-34, B.K.No.154; A.R.I.E. 1959-60, No.B 437.

152 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.119.

153 Ibid., B.K.No.159.

154 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K.Nos.18-19.

2 duce. It is a tax on land seems to have been known as aruvana. An inscription of Bhīllama records the grant of Keyya-aruvana to god Boppēsvara.<sup>155</sup> Key is a field and aruvana is the tax on the field. Another inscription of the same king grants a piece of land to god Svayambhu Paschima-Sōmanātha and adds 'aruvanav-illa'<sup>156</sup> which means that the grant-land was exempted from the aruvana levied on it. Some records also specify the rate of tax on particulars lands; but there was no uniformity in fixing the rate. An inscription of Singhana states that six mattar of land was granted to the sculptor Kallōja in appreciation of his having built the temple of Kalidēva. It is specified in the record that he was to enjoy the land by paying one hana for every mattar.<sup>157</sup> Another record engraved in continuation of this one stipulates that it was incumbent that one hana per mattar, was to be given even on the land granted to god. Obviously, the person in charge of the grant-land was to pay the tax, for the record further adds that a land of five mattar was made to goddess Hiriyakavve and that Bhīmeya-nāyaka, the madavari of the deity, was to pay one pana per mattar.<sup>158</sup> But an inscription of Mahādēva fixes twelve honnu as aruvana per mattar.<sup>159</sup> Honnu was a gold coin which was also known as gadyāna.<sup>160</sup> Siddhāya appears to have been another type of tax, levied on cultivated lands. Further, land-holders were required to pay the stipulated amount every year. For instance, the Vṛittimanta Tippiarasa, the 'son' of the mahājanas of the agrahāra

155 A.R.S.I.E. 1933-34, B.K.No.159.

156 A.R.I.E. 1953-54, No.240.

157 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.No.200.

158 Ibid., No.203.

159 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXIII, p.195, text line 60-61.

160 Kr.Ins., Vol.1, p.69. Siddha is taken to mean cultivated land and āya is income (see Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXII, pp.35-36).

Hāvēri was to pay (for his land) one gadyāna and five panas <sup>161</sup> every year as pindilige (the meaning of this term however is not clear). That amount was transferred to the temple of Siddhanātha for the purpose of burning a perpetual lamp. It is stated in another inscription from the same place that the Sunkādhikāri or the tax officer granted the money (artha) which was paid towards sunka (i.e. tax), <sup>162</sup> for the same purpose.

#### Commercial Taxes :

Another source of revenue was taxes on commodities which came to the market. As is the case even today, market days were held, and the commodities that entered the area were taxes. <sup>163</sup> The income from such a source was known as santhey-āya (i.e. income from market (santhe or sante)). For example, an inscription of Siṅghanaṭṭi time, <sup>164</sup> states that the Santhey-āya was granted to the pūjārī or priest of a temple. Similarly, a record of Bhillama refers to the santhey-āya and states that his subordinate Māyidēva established a dharma-santhe and exempted from taxes all the commodities that entered there for marketing. <sup>165</sup> Such taxes, it appears, were collected in two or three stages. First, when the commodity entered the market area and it may be likened to the present day toll. Secondly, a stipulated amount on the tents that the merchants were stretching in the area and it was called pasāra-dere (pasāra meaning a trader's <sup>t</sup> tent or shop). Thirdly, taxes on sale and purchase of particular

161 A.P.S.I.E. 1932-33, B.K.No.86.

162 Ibid., B.K.No.84.

163 The term is in use today in Kannada speaking area.

164 A.P.S.I.E. 1949-50, No.108.

165 A.P.S.I.E. 1937-38, B.K.No.36.

commodities were also collected. A record of Rāmachandra remits in favour of god Siddhanātha at agrahāra Hāvēri, taxes on commodities brought on the backs of twentyfive oxen. A record of Kannara also mentions Kōṇana-maidere-sunka in connection with Santegale <sup>167</sup> āyadēva, i.e., income and expenditure in relation to sante. <sup>168</sup> The Kōṇana-maidere-sunka here apparently means tax on commodities brought on the backs of he-buffaloes. Similarly, another inscription records the exemption from taxes on rubies carried on elephants. <sup>169</sup> A record of Mahādēva states that an officer exempted taxes on Betel-nuts, pepper or any other articles carried on oxen. <sup>170</sup>

Another record of Singhana stipulated that camphor and other articles, brought within the three districts of Tardavāḍi, Heḍa and Kaṇambade, for the purpose of offerings to god Siddhanāthadēva of Vijayapura, were not to be taxed. <sup>171</sup>

That taxes were imposed on the sale and purchase of goods becomes clear from numerous references to that effect in inscriptions. A record of Kalachurya Bijjala III dated 1192 A.D. refers to taxes accruing from purchase and sale of horses, rubies and such other articles (kudure, mānik-ādiyāgi-samasta-kṛaya-vikṛayaṃgala samasta-sunka). <sup>172</sup> An epigraph of Singhana stipulates that articles such as betel-nuts, ginger, pepper, turmeric and camphor, sold for the purpose of offerings to god Narasiṃha of Vijayapura were free from taxes. Similarly, the sale of produce from the gardens (or

166 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.132.

167 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No. 85.

168 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXI, p.14.

169 Ibid., Vol.XIX, p.25.

170 A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.81.

171 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.144. 172 Ibid.,1940-41. B.K.No.168

lands) cultivated by the priests of the deity were also exempted  
173  
from taxes.

#### Tax on Property:

2 Tax on private possessions, moveable as well as immovable, were  
also taxed. A vague reference to the exemption of taxes when house-  
sites were granted seems to indicate that levying tax on houses was  
174  
also in vogue. Cattle were taxed. The rate or method of such  
taxation is not clear. Good many epigraphs record exemption of  
taxes on particular number of oxen for various purposes. Thus an  
inscription of Singhana states that tax on eleven oxen was thus  
exempted for the purpose of burning a perpetual lamp to god Kadam-  
175  
bēsvāra. A tax officer granted taxes on oxen, donkeys and he-  
176  
buffalows to the mahājanas of Dēviyahosūr.

#### Profession Tax:

Certain professions also came under taxation. A record of  
Bhillema from Hipparagi states that Māyidēva-danḍanāyaka granted  
certain incomes to god Kalidēva. They included taxes on carpenters,  
blacksmiths, sammagāra (cobblers), washermen and others. 177  
The con-  
text of the record further shows that such taxes were known as  
bannige for the record calls this as bannige-sunka.

173 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.122.

174 Ibid., 1940-41, B.K.No.97. Mane-dere or tax on house is  
figures in many records.

175 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.92.

176 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.33.

177 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K.No.30. Against each person is found the  
numeral 1 which appears to stand for a coin in which they were to

### Collective Taxes:

In certain cases, a net amount of tax was fixed to be given to the Government collectively. For instance, under the orders of Kannara, the agrahāra Kukkunūr was revived but it was clearly stated that it was made a niyata-kara-agrahāra in the sense that the residents of the agrahāra were to pay a stipulated amount regularly. In the present case such an amount was fixed at four hundred nishkas that were in currency in the country (dēśa-parivartana yōgyais-chatus<sup>178</sup> sata-saṁkhyāparimitair-niyatakaram-agrahāram).

### Duties on Social Functions.

It can be gathered from some records that certain social functions too were not beyond the perview of taxation. An inscription of Mahādēva refers to maduveya-āya, i.e., income from marriage.<sup>179</sup> This indicates that a stipulated amount was to go to the Government. Elsewhere it occurs as maduveya haṇa. Handara-haṇa<sup>180</sup> is also to be possibly taken in the same sense. But it appears that certain groups of people used to impose on themselves such voluntary contributions in favour of temples. For instance, a record of Siṅghaṇa<sup>180</sup> states that the Aivatt-okkalu of Kandagale offered to pay for the benefit of god one haṇa on the occasions of marriages and of child-births. Still another inscription of the same king refers to many such contributions. This record tells us that when different bodies headed by the mahāpradhāna Parasayya-dandanāyaka decided to make a grant of land and money to gods Nakharēśvara and Prasannakēśava, it was also

178 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XII, p.44.

179 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXIII, p.195.

180 A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.51.

decided that the Nakhara or the merchant community of the place should contribute money to the gods, on the following occasions at the specified rates: On the occasion of Marriage, a chavula each from the bride-groom's and bride's party; when the marriage parties would leave for another place, a hāga from each party; When the bride came of age, two hāgas were to be paid; on the occasion of getuge (the meaning of this term is not clear), one hāga; on the birth of a son two hāgas; when the child was initiated into studies, two hāgas; on the occasion of entering a new house, two hāgas.

#### Security Fees:

The public had also to bear the expenditure of the security officials who might visit the villages or townships. The fact that some of the agrahāras were declared as exempted from paying such dandas makes it clear that when the police or other officials of the king visited such places, they were to be paid by the inhabitants of that place. For example, when Rāmachandra instituted an agrahāra it was enjoined that the rājasēvakas were not to be paid the vasati-<sup>182</sup>danda and prayāna-danda (by the inhabitants of that agrahāra). Similar injunctions are found in many other records.

#### Miscellaneous Taxes.

In addition to these specified taxes, it appears that there were many more. We find in records names of various other taxes,

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181 A.R.I.E. 1953-54, No.253.

182 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, p.318. Rājasēvakānānām vasati-danda prayāna-danda na stah (line 97).



the meaning of which it is difficult to make out.

Some such are: Hajjuka, <sup>or</sup> ~~hira~~ hiriya-sunka, indicating probably major taxes as contrasted with Kirukula-sunka, or kirrukai-āya, which was tax on sundry or miscellaneous (kirukula) articles; Sāda, ~~that~~ is generally associated in inscriptions with bahniga. Probably it means a tax on a particular profession; Vaddarāvula, Kallivana and Biravana; the latter part of the term, viz., vana or hana indicates that these taxes were collected in cash. Similar was talevana. It is not impossible that this refers to the tax paid by every individual entering another village. Mūle-sunka seems to be the customs on luggage; Okkalu-dere is tax on tenants residential or agricultural. Talabhōga appears to be a similar one, Bellāya, Kannike and Bilukude or Bilkod are difficult to interpret. Tippe-sunka is also one such, but it is not impossible that it means a tax on manure.

The names of numerous taxes like the above indicating that the public, agricultural or professional, were taxes at so many stages, such as on lands, produce, their sale or purchase, on residential quarters, professions and perhaps on social functions also, might give the impression that the taxation was pretty heavy in those days. But the actual conditions do not appear to have been so, though it is to be admitted that information on this point is quite meagre. The inscriptions give a ~~very~~ happy picture of the society, and the Sēūna records ~~at~~ ~~these~~ do not appear to reveal any instance of oppression by the Government and the consequent protest by the people. On the other hand, grants were voluntarily made by different classes of people for charitable and religious purposes. For instance, oilmen used to give for the temples regular shares of

their produce and the betel-leaf merchants of theirs. Other merchants and agriculturists reserved portions of their income for temples. This must have been in addition to the taxes they were to pay.

Further, the Government also does not appear to have been ruthless in their collection. Many exemptions were granted by them. For instance, educational institutions such as brahmapuris and agrahāras were exempted from all taxes (except in certain cases where it was otherwise decided) and the income of those particular areas<sup>(6)</sup> was to go to those institutions only. Temple-lands were free from taxation and the commodities imported or marketed for religious purposes were not subjected to customs. Then it may not be wrong to surmise that there was ~~co-ordination and~~ co-operation between the public and the Government and the former bore the burden of taxation willingly.

#### Tax Officers:

It is seen above that the ministers of the king had over-all charge of provinces under their administration. The authority of collection and disbursement of taxes was also vested in them. For instance, Mahāpradhāna Tipparasa remitted the taxes of 12 gold coins<sup>183</sup> (hon) to the mahājēnas. Mahāpradhāna Māyidēva-daṇḍanāyaka, a<sup>184</sup> minister of Bhīllama is called Sunkādhikāri. There appears to have been a regular department of revenue under the ministers with officials meant for the collection of taxes.

183 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI Dg.70.

184 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.30.

The chief officer in connection with taxes called Sunkādhikari. He was responsible to the mahāpradhāna or minister whose subordinate he was. The Nāgai inscription of Siṅghana refers to a mahāpradhāna and apparently under him, a sunkādhikāri.<sup>185</sup> Unfortunately, the record is broken and the names of both of them are lost. Sunkādhikāri Saicharasa was subordinate of mahāpradhāna<sup>186</sup> and Sarvādhikāri Dēvarasa. Again, Sunkādhikāri Mādāyya was subordinate to Sāluveya Ācharasa, the minister of Rāmachandra.<sup>187</sup>

Sunkādhikāri or the officer of taxes had jurisdiction over a particular area. As such, Khaṇḍērāya was in charge of the taxes of the division of Kisukāḍu 70.<sup>188</sup> Ācharasa appears to have been the name of the Sunkādhikāri of Bāge 50.<sup>189</sup> Similarly, Vinchuva-Basava-rasa was the tax-officer for Tardavādi 1000.<sup>190</sup> Another officer Vāsudēvanāyaka is described as samasta-nāḍa-Sunkādhikāri.<sup>191</sup>

The duties of Sunkādhikāri were obviously to collect the taxes through his subordinates and to remit it to the Treasury. But it appears that he was authorised to disburse the income from certain taxes for religious and other purposes, quite possibly in consultation with and with the approval of his superiors. Sunkādhikāri Maṇḍugidēva in the presence of paramaviśvāsi Bhāgubāyi and her minister Khannuvapaṇḍita and others, exempted from taxes certain<sup>on</sup>

185 Ibid., 1926-27, B.K.No.26.

186 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.84.

187 Ibid., B.K.No.85.

188 A.R.S.I.E. 1926-27, B.K.No.233.

189 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.182.

190 Ibid., 1930-31, B.K.No.7.

191 A.H.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 438.

articles brought for offerings to god in the three districts of Heda, Kanambade and Tardavadi.<sup>192</sup> Likewise, Sunkādhikāri Baicharasa granted in favour of the god Siddhanātha of Hāvēri certain taxes<sup>193</sup> under the instructions of mahāpradhāna Dēvarasa.

Next in position to the Sunkādhikāri was Sunkavergade. His jurisdiction appears to have been restricted to a single village or town. Thus sunkavergade Lakumana, who was subordinate to the chief of the district of Bāsavūru 14C, made a grant of money accrued from certain tolls to the mahājanas and mummūḍandas of Dēvihosūr.<sup>194</sup> Another hegade of sunka (sunkade hegade) is stated to have remitted certain other taxes for offerings to the god Sōmanātha at Kalukere<sup>195</sup> and for the feeding of the ascetics. Sitāla Mādeva, another sunkavergade,<sup>196</sup> was in office at Hullungūr. If sunkādhikāri Sitāla Māyidēva mentioned in a record of Mahādēva dated in 1270 A.D. is identical with Sunkavergade Sitāla Mādēva, then we get the interesting information that he rose in course of time from the position of sunkavergade to that of sunkādhikāri. The record showing him in the lower office is dated in 1267 A.D. Further, the findspots of both the records are in the same taluk of Hangal in Dharwar District.

There was also the necessity of an officer to look after the management of the Treasury. He was called mahābhāṇṇāri. An inscription of Singhana introduces one such officer Thakkura Kannaradēva by<sup>198</sup> name.

192 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.144.

193 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.84.

194 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.33.

195 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.79.

196 Ibid., 1944-45, B.K.No.81.

197 Th. 19 - 2 - R 11

### Other Sources of Income :

Taxes of various kinds formed the main source of income but, however insignificant they might be, other sources such as fines and the booty brought from defeated kingdoms did add to the royal treasury.

Fines: Though the great fear of netherworld and of other worldly sufferings were a deterrent for the people in violating the tenets of law, wrongdoers were not entirely absent and punishment their was necessary for the welfare of society. In fact most of the records, after detailing the arrangements regarding the grants, simply add that the violator of those instructions would be thrown into hell for sixtythousand years or that he commits the sin of killing his parents and learned brāhmaṇas on the banks of the holy Ganges and the like; and it appears that since few thought of transgressing the rule of Dharma such a curse was enough to desuade them from doing wrong. But in a society not all can be considered pious and in such cases prescription of fines and other punishments became necessary. Sūna records give interesting details regarding the fines imposed upon farmers, who had disrespected the grants made to temples. One inscription from Tilivalli records a grant of land to god Sāvantēśvara and prescribes the following punishments on the violaters: the farmer of the highest class (uttamada okkalu) was to be fined 18 gadyāṇas; the farmer of the medium class (madhyamada okkalu) 12 gadyāṇas; and the one belonging to the lowest class (kanisada, i.e. Kanishthada okkalu) 6 gadyāṇas.<sup>199</sup> It is interesting

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198 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.391.

199 K.S.P.<sup>P</sup>, Vol.XXVIII, No.1, p.9.

to note in this connection that the severlety of the punishment depended not so much on the crime committed but the status of the criminal.

Tributes from other countries: While describing the conquests of heroism of the kings, good many inscriptions speak of the treasures brought by the victorious kings. Though such descriptions are partially due to the exaggerations on the part of the authors of such records, there is a grain of truth in them. Such acquisitions consisted of elephants and horses which formed part of the army and gold and other articles seized from the enemy's hands. But we do not hear so much of the capturing of the war prisoners and of the indiscriminate looting of the enemy's country. This was but natural for war also was guided by the terms of Dharma, which did not allow atrocities on the part of the conqueror. Hannabommisettti is reported to have captured the elephants of the Hoysala king and Sāluva Tikkama is said to have brought as tribute (kappa) of elephants, horses and other precious goods.

#### CCINAGE :

References in inscriptions to mints and various varieties of coins show that coins were issued by the kings and they were in use in transactions such as sale and purchase of land and other goods. A number of records refer to the instances where a particular person, who wanted to make a grant of land to a temple, would purchase it from its owner by giving a sum of money. As noted above, a fixed amount of money was required to be paid towards taxes.

An inscription of Singhana refers to the mint (kammata) and further indicates that gold and silver were used in minting coins (kammatake beḷi-bhangāra sandalli).<sup>200</sup> References are there to gold coins but it is not known what the silver coins were called. The following coins were in currency in the Sēūṇa kingdom.

Nishka:<sup>201</sup> a gold coin.

Damma.<sup>202</sup>

Gadyāna: Gold coin. This was also called hon or pon, or even pon-gadyāna. pon or hon in Kannada mean gold.

Suvarṇa was also a name for this coin. Gadyānas were known by different names probably because to distinguish the issues. For instance, the Sēūṇa records speak of Rāya-Gadyāna,<sup>203</sup> privaśrāhi gajamalla-Gadyāna and Ambibili gadyāna.<sup>204</sup><sup>205</sup>

Pana: Next in denomination was Pana also known as hana.<sup>206</sup> 10 Panas made a Gadyāna.

Hāga, Kāni, Bēle and Vīsa were other coins, whose denominations are not known. Their relation with other coins is also not clear. Are-vīsa or half vīsa was a coin half in value of that of vīsa.<sup>207</sup>

Some coins have been found which are supposed to have been issued by Sēūṇa kings. These are generally known as Padma-taṅkas.

200 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.B 253.

201 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XII, p.44, text line 56.

202 Ind.Ant., Vol.XII, p.127, S.M.H.D., Vol.II, p.62.

203 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.272.

204 S.M.H.D., Vol.II, p.62.

205 Ibid.

206 S.I.I., Vol.XI, Introduction p.vi.

since the figure of Padma or lotus is impressed on them. The names read above them are Sīnghapa or Sīghana, Kānhapa or Kānhara, Mahā-dēva and Śrī Rāma. On the basis of the similarity of the names they are ascribed to the kings of the Sēūpa dynasty. <sup>208</sup> Some coins reported by Eliot, Rapson and Brown and ascribed by them to the Kadamba dynasty (except Smith, who called it <sup>anonymus</sup>) are also supposed to be the coins of these kings. All these coins are of gold and all of them weigh 57.25 grams each. It is also not known if these represented the gadyāna though it is not impossible, for gadyānas was also a gold coin.

#### TRADE:

Flourishing trade is a source of steady income to Government. Like land, it also yields much revenue by way of taxes. We have seen above that sale and purchase of goods were <sup>d</sup>taxed, as also the vehicles on which they were brought to the market. Tolls were to be paid for the entry of commodities into the village or town area. Thus, increasing trade activities meant increasing income to the Government.

Evidence from epigraphic records show that trade activities were vigorous in the days of the Sēūpas. Apart from food-grains and other articles of daily use, valuable articles like pearls, rubies

<sup>7</sup>  
208 Varāha is indeed a coin which came into use in later period. It finds a place in a record of Rāmachandra. But <sup>the</sup> record which abounds in mistakes is fragmentary, (Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb. 34) and it is doubtful if it belongs to the period of Rāmachandra at all.

208 J.A.S.B., Vol. XXI, ~~Numismatic~~ Numismatic Supplement, pp. 6 ff.



and other precious stones seem to have been freely sold and purchased in open markets. It is likely that all big towns were market places but it appears that some central places were selected as trade centres where business was being conducted in large scale. For example, Kandagale, i.e. modern Kanagal in the Hungund taluk of the Bijapur District, is described as the pāṇthe-dāṇa and malige mane of the division of Kannaḍa 4000 which clearly means that it was a flourishing trade centre in the said province with godowns <sup>209</sup> (malige) for storage of various goods.

Trade was mostly internal. Contacts with neighbouring States were also established. Reference to such bodies as malayāla Vaddavyavahāris, Ticulaghale indicates that merchants from other areas like Korala and Tamil countries settled here and there were trade connections <sup>with</sup> ~~between~~ those countries. Reference has been made in an earlier context to the Malayāli merchant Kunjunambi who tried to bring about a compromise between Hoysalas and Sēūnas.

Conveyances for carrying merchandise were the carts and animals like bullocks, donkeys, buffaloes and elephants. The elephants it appears, were used for carrying valuable articles like pearls and precious stones. An inscription of Kannara alludes to sea-trade also. In the course of recording the exemption of some taxes, it <sup>or river</sup> also states that certain trade by sea-route (jala-mārga) was to be <sup>210</sup> free from taxes. If it is remembered that a considerable portion of the west coast was under the Sēūna and that a fleet was used in subduing the Śilāhāras, the trade being carried on by sea-route was

209 A.R.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K.No.50.

210 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIX, p.25.

not an improbability.

Trade in the country was controlled by the merchant guilds known as the Nakharas, Vaddavyavahāris and (Settiguttas. That the Nakharas, also known as Nagaras or Nakaras, formed the merchant class is clear from an epigraph of Singhana which describes them as 'born of Vaisya-kula and increasing the wealth by purchase and sale' (Vaisyakul-ānvaya-prasūtarum, kraya-vikrayagalind-arthamam perchisi) They are also stated to have belonged to the race of Kubēra, the mythical god of wealth.<sup>211</sup> The exact meaning of the term Vaddavyavahāri is not known but it is certain they they represented a class of merchants. Settis and Settiguttas were the same as the Srēshṭhis who also were merchants. They dealt with in all sorts of goods and may be described as general merchants. There were others, who represented those trading in particular articles. For instance, Telligas were oil merchants as also producers. Gātrigas seem to have been dealing with betel-leaves.<sup>212</sup> Inscriptions indicate that the merchants formed an assembly of themselves, apparently for discussing the problems connected with trade and industry. A record of Fāmechandra refers to the vanik-sabhā or the assembly of the merchants in whose presence a Sōyidēva-daṇḍanāyaka made a grant.<sup>213</sup>

The liberal grants made by these merchants as can be gathered from the epigraphical records, and the generous exemption of taxes by the kings, ministers and tax-officers, on numerous occasions go

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211 A.R.I.E. 1953-54, No.253.

212 Numerous inscriptions mention them as making grants of leaves.

213 A.R.E.I.E. 1953-34, E.K.No.138.

to show the economic conditions in the country were very healthy and the State was a prosperous one. That the financial position was very sound is testified by the Muslim sources also. The glittering gold of the Sēūna kingdom attracted the invaders from across the Vindhya who looted the country to their heart's content. The Muslim chroniclers refer to mounds and mounds of gold carried from Dēvagiri by Alā-ud-dīn on horses and elephants. Yet the Sēūna wealth was not exhausted and that was <sup>an</sup> invitation to the Muslims for further invasions!

CHAPTER X  
SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS  
I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Caste System:

A noteworthy feature of the Indian society is its division into four main classes, viz., the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Sūdra. Though the basis for this classification was the profession followed by the particular person, in course of time it came to be decided by birth. In the medieval period, it may be observed, the classification was not very rigid.

The profession of the Brāhmaṇa was learning and imparting education. The Kṣatriya on the other hand, was entrusted with the duty of protecting the subjects and for this purpose he was engaged in warfare. The Vaiśya played an important part in the economic life of the country, trade being <sup>his</sup> ~~their~~ activity. The Sūdra was meant for menial service.

The Brāhmaṇa:

A number of inscriptions speak in glowing terms of the attainments of the Brāhmaṇa in the academic field. He was expected to be learned in all the Vēdas and other sāstras and his daily life was to adhere strictly to the dictates of the Dharmasāstra such as performing japa, tapa, hōma and upāsana. He was engaged with imparting education to the students for which purpose brahmapuris were created and agrahāras instituted. In them were housed learned Brāhmaṇas well-versed in different subjects. Arrangements were made for the maintenance of these Brāhmaṇas by donating lands to them.

His academic attainments and the religious pursuits gave the Brāhmaṇa a high status in society and he was held in reverence by the public. We have seen above that Brāhmaṇas formed themselves into bodies which wielded enormous influence<sup>(1)</sup> over public affairs, justice and not excluded. It is, however, to be noted that it was his learning and not just the family in which he was born<sup>that</sup> earned a high status for him. It is interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇas living in the agrahāras were enjoined to live the right way (Svayaṁ vasati-bhīṁ bhāvyaṁ sadā sanmārgavartibhiḥ)<sup>1</sup>.

#### The Kshatriya:

The Kshatriya as is well known<sup>2</sup> as enjoined with the task of ~~the~~ protecting <sup>the</sup> Dharma which is expressed by the term duṣṭa-sikṣha and śiṣṭa pratipālana, i.e., punishing the ignoble and protecting the noble. The rulers claimed themselves to be Kshatriyas. As the duty of protecting Dharma devolved on them, it was expected of them to be broadminded and endowed with toleration. They were to foster all religious systems with equal patronage and to look after all classes of people with equal benevolence. That the Sēṇa kings <sup>came</sup> ~~rose~~ upto these expectations is clear from their records. Bhillama for instance, is called the embodiment of Dharma<sup>2</sup>. Numerous records of his successors also show that they made handsome grants for the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jaina institutions.

Protection naturally involved fighting and that was known as Kshatriya-dharma. It was the sacred duty of the kshatriya to

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1 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXI, p.44, line 125.

2 ARS IE, 1937-38, No. B.K. No. 36.

engage himself in Dharma-yuddha or the war for a noble purpose. Though much information is not available regarding the activities of the members of this caste during the period under study, it may not be wrong to presume that they generally took to service in the army.

#### The Vaisya:

The Vaiśyas or the merchant-class constituted a very important component for social well-being. The trade of the country was concentrated in their hands and they carried on business in all sorts of commodities, in and outside the country. They were generally known as the Vaddavyavahāris or mahāvaddavyavahāris. The more prominent among them were called the rājasrēshṭhis as was Pāyiseṭṭi,<sup>3</sup> the son of the famous general Bīchiseṭṭi. They formed themselves into the body known as the Nakhara and it has been observed earlier that they, like the Mahājanas, wielded considerable influence in all activities of the society. It has also been seen that merchants dealing in different articles were known by different names, such as the gātrigas or hannavanigas (those dealing in betel-leaves and nuts), Telligas (dealers in oil) and the like.

#### The fourth class:

The inscriptions call the Sudra class as the Chaturtha-vaṃsa or the Chaturtha-yarga. The people of these classes resorted to different vocations useful to the society.

<sup>3</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K. No.53.

By the profession they followed, they formed into groups or communities which also vaguely came to be known as castes such as the Badagi (carpenter), Kammāra (blacksmith), Sammagāra (Cobbler), Akkasāle (Goldsmith), Kaṇṇhagāra (Artisan), Agasa (Washerman), Nāvida (barber) and the like. In a society where building activity was quite vigorous, the community of Sūtradhāris or sculptors had an important place. Their services were utilised in engraving stone inscriptions also.

Though nothing <sup>very</sup> clear is known regarding the remuneration for these people in return <sup>for</sup> ~~to~~ their services, it appears that they were given lands where they were permanently employed. Remuneration in kind must have been the practice of the day, <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ practice which is still in vogue even today. The Mahājānas of Nidugundi granted a piece of land to badagi Kallōja, who built the temple of Kalidēva in that place.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Bommarāsidēva, the disciple of Sōvarāsidēva, who was the priest of the temple of Svayambhu Sōmanātha of Tadalabāge, gave a grant of land to a Sūtradhāri (whose name is lost)<sup>5</sup> for his having effected some repairs in that temple. A certain Goravōja got a similar grant for such services.<sup>6</sup> Another carpenter Chāmōja, who was attached to the royal household on a permanent basis to attend to the work of the palace, got a piece of land as remuneration.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the parakāras (drummers) and the mālegāras (those who supplied garlands) were given lands for their services in the temples.

4 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.No.200.

5 Ibid., 1938-39, B.K.No.65.

6 Kr.Ins., Vol.II, p.124.

7 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXX, p.68 ff.

Thus society consisted of people of different duties and professions which were mostly hereditary. It is worthwhile noting in this connection that such classification was not rigid. A qualified Brāhmaṇa could take up military or administrative service in the Government as was done by pandita Madhusūdana<sup>8</sup> or Purushōttama<sup>9</sup> nāyaka, who was the subordinate of Rāmachandra. Hēmādri, the celebrated author and one of the most learned in the Sēūna kingdom, held the responsible post of <sup>the custodian</sup> ~~keeping~~ of records. A brilliant family of the Vaiśya community held high military and administrative posts in the reign of Siṅghana and his successors. They were Malliseṭṭi and his brother Bīchiseṭṭi. Chaudiseṭṭi was still another as were Ārya Malliseṭṭi and his son Honnabammiseṭṭi and Ārya Rēviseṭṭi.

There are epigraphical evidences to show that some of the officials belonged to the Chaturtha-kula. Again, the <sup>professionals</sup> ~~members~~ like the goldsmiths (akkaṣāle) and sculptors (Sūtradhāri) used to take up weapons to defend their lands in times of attacks from outside. Numerous hero-stones which commemorate the death of such heroes indicate that they either occasionally or ~~even~~ regularly joined the police or security service under the Government. Thus it becomes quite clear that the existence of the caste system never hampered the development of the individual who was free to choose the profession that he liked, or was fit for. Birth did not become an impediment.

#### Marriage :

Marriage <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ one of the essential sanskāras and as such

8 Ibid., Vol.VIII, p.387.

9 Ibid., Vol.XXV, p.212.



religious in character; but it had not lost its social ~~import~~ importance. Ancient authors like Manu describe different types of marriage, but the most common form was the one performed by Kanyādāna, i.e., offering the bride to the groom. This is known as brāhma form of marriage. We do not have details regarding this institution. A solitary record, however, states that a lady Māliyakka by name, made a grant of land out of what she got as <sup>10</sup>baḷa-valige. The lady is here referred to as madavalige, i.e. the bride or the newly married girl. Baḷavali apparently means presents which she got at the time of marriage.

#### Inheritance:

With marriage is closely associated the question of inheritance also. Generally, the son was the heir to the property. It may be noted also that the practice of taking a son in adoption was also current. For example, Bīchana or Bīchiseṭṭi, the general of Singhana who had no sons but only two daughters, adopted Pāyiseṭṭi the son of Nākiseṭṭi as his son. The record states that Pāyiseṭṭi, the son of Nākiseṭṭi, was offered by the latter to Bīchana in adoption (ant-aganya-puṇyōdavan-enisida pāyvanam padedu Nākiseṭṭi rāyadandanāvaka Bīchan-udara-sthāvyana mādal-oḍam magam-badedante <sup>11</sup>rāia-srēshṭhi paṭṭama kaṭṭidaṁ). The relation between Bīchana and Nākiseṭṭi is, however, not specified.

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10 A.E.S.I.E., 1930-31, B.K. No.1.

11 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K. No.53.

The property of those who died without any issue went to the Government. Sarvādhikāri Tipparasa, the Mahāpradhāna of Rāma-chandra, made a grant to the tank at Bānavallī, of money left by those who <sup>had</sup> died without heir (aputrik-ārtha or aputrika-dhana) in the village of Bānavallī as well as its hamlets, Elevaṭṭi, Hile-hālu and Jiguli.<sup>12</sup>

When there <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ more than one son, the property naturally was divided among them. No clue is given in our sources regarding the practice in this regard, but the Lēkhapaddhati, which gives some documents, contemporaneously dated, illustrates some partition deeds and throws light on the practice in contemporary Gujarat. According to these documents the property of the deceased person was to be divided equally among the sons and the widow of the deceased. It is interesting to note here that the widow was getting an equal share along with her sons. It further follows from the document that provision was made for the marriage of the unmarried son or daughter of the deceased by equal contributions from all those entitled for a share in the property. The widow again had to choose one of the sons to live with. The document also states that the share of the mother <sup>went</sup> ~~was~~ after her death to the son who performs her śrāddha.<sup>13</sup>

That the practice of borrowing and lending money was in vogue is only indirectly known, through the rates of interests that <sup>was</sup> ~~are~~ fixed on the endowments. For instance, a record dated 1228 A.D. from Haveri in Dharwar District enjoins that, of the three Gadyānas

12 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.70.

13 Lēkhapaddhati, pp.47 ff.

granted by a Māyiseṭṭi, the money accrued as interest at the rate of 1 Hana per Hon or Gadyāna be utilised for the purpose of burning the lamp and offering flowers to the god.<sup>14</sup> Now that we know that 10 hanas made a Gadyāna, the annual interest on 3 Gadyānas was three Hanas, the rate of interest being 10 per cent. That the rate of interest was not uniform is clear from another record of the same date and place.<sup>15</sup> The Nakharas of Hāvēri made a grant of four Gadyānas for the offering to god Vināyaka of that place. The interest fixed on that money was 1 Hana <sup>per</sup> ~~for~~ a month. The total amount of interest then would be one Gadyāna and two Hanas for the year, the rate of interest being 30 per cent! The Lēkhapaddhati also quotes a document by way of illustration which speaks of the business of money lending by father to son but with no interest.<sup>16</sup>

Likewise, property was mortgaged for money. A damaged record of Bhillama refers to one such incident when a house was mortgaged by a particular individual, whose name is lost. The stipulation of the mortgage deal is not clear since the record is damaged. The very record probably refers to the mortgaging of a land (vritti) by Ācharasa to Rāmayya.<sup>17</sup> The details of the deal are unfortunately lost.

Women :

The position of women in a society is indeed an index to the cultural level of that society. For being counterparts of men, they have also a definite role to pay and a definite contribution to make

14 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.87.

15 Ibid., B.K.No.90.

16 Svahasrāksharāni, p.56.

17 A.R.S.I.E., 1930-31, B.K.No.1.

in the society for its well-being.

In the Hindu society woman has been given a high position and status and is held in reverence and respect. Manu's statement<sup>18</sup> that 'Gods rejoice where women are worshipped' only means that that a fair deal meted out to the women ensures ~~the~~ happiness in the society. In religious activities, her presence was not just important but inevitable. In the field of literature, from the Vedic period downwards we come across <sup>a</sup> number of women poets and scholars. Women took part in political activities also in ancient and medieval periods <sup>and</sup> we find a number of able women administrators. It is to be admitted, however, that such a healthy atmosphere for woman did not <sup>continue</sup> ~~remain~~ through all ~~the~~ periods of history. Political vicissitudes and similar other reasons did affect her freedom to some extent.

During the Gēūna period <sup>a</sup> healthy atmosphere conducive to the <sup>free growth</sup> ~~development~~ of <sup>women</sup> ~~the women~~ <sup>d</sup> ~~is~~ continue. Just as in the previous centuries, in this period also women took active part in matters pertaining to religion, administration and the like. For instance, in one of his official tours of Sarvādhikāri Hemmeyanāyaka, his wife Ruppabāyi accompanied him and visited Balligāve, where her husband made a grant to god Kēdārēśvara.<sup>19</sup> Siriyādēvi, the wife of Vikramāditya, a subordinate of Śiṅghana, made a grant of land to a temple built (or renovated) by her husband.<sup>20</sup> Nāgasiriyavva, a disciple<sup>21</sup> of Sakalachandra-bhaṭṭāraka, built a Jaina monastery. Religious

18 Manusmriti, III, 56.

19 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.96.

20 S.M.H.D., Vol.II, No.18, pp.59 ff.

21 Ibid., 1928-29, B.K.No.50.

activities of the ladies were not restricted to just making grants or building temples. We find that some women were initiated into the religious order and <sup>admitted</sup> ~~admitted~~ to ~~the~~ priest-hood. An inscription of Siṅghana, for instance, refers to a lady Dēkalabbe-gorati<sup>t</sup>, who was entrusted with a grant made by certain officials to god Vyāsē-svara.<sup>22</sup> Dēkalabbe's appellation gorati (cf. gorava applied to a male priest) and the fact that she was placed in charge of the gifts made for the benefit of the god clearly indicates that she was the <sup>ess</sup> priest<sup>ess</sup> of that temple.

Another female ascetic Bilavve is introduced in a recently discovered record of Siṅghana <sup>23</sup> ~~himself~~. She is herein described as Mūlasthānadēvara pādārādhaki kshētra sanyāsi and Mahānubhāve. She was the recipient of certain grants made for religious purposes.

Though little is known about the Sēūna queens, we come across a number of women who took part in the administration of the country during the Sēūna rule. We have seen above that even in the very early days of the Sēūnas, when they were as yet feudatories, Lachṇi-yavva, wife of Bhīllama II, shouldered the burden of the kingdom when her grandson was too young. Likewise, Lakshmī, the daughter of the general Khōlēśvara, took charge of the administration of the territory that was being ruled by her brother Rāma, following the latter's death. Bhāgubāyi was another lady. She was the governor of the three divisions Heḍa, Kaṇambade and Tardavādi between 1239 and 1245 A.D. The identification of Heḍa is in<sup>d</sup>eed difficult, but the other two are known. Kaṇambade<sup>b</sup> the modern Kanmaḍi in Bijapur

22 A.R.I.E., 1949-50, B.K.No.101.

23 Ibid., 1959-60, No.B 437.

District, the chief town of this division of three hundred village, while Tardavāḍi is the modern Taddēvāḍi in the same District. Her official designation was Sarvādhikārī and her devoted service brought her into the confidence of the king Siṅghaṇa and she was styled Paramaviśvāsī of the king. Bhāgubāyī's husband Dēvagana also seems to have been in the service of Siṅghaṇa. Her minister was Kannuva-panḍita.<sup>25</sup>

Another woman who held a responsible position in the Sēūṇa administration was a certain Mahādēvi, who was in charge of the fort. In an inscription of Rāmachandra she is called Durgādhīpati,<sup>26</sup> or the chief of fort.

In the neighbouring Hoysala country, Umādevi, the queen of Ballāḷa II, headed the Government in the absence of her husband. Similarly, the Kākatīya kingdom was headed by Rudrāmba, who assumed the male name as Rudradēva. ~~In addition to~~ She boldly opposed Sēūṇa Mahādēva <sup>who had</sup> ~~and~~ to face a set back at her hands.

It is interesting to note that some women carried on trade also. An inscription of Rāmachandra refers to a Kuñchadigitti who dealt in oil (enneya konḍu māruva Kuñchadigittivarū). It was stipulated that from every shop (paṣāra) of such dealers, a paḷige of oil was to be collected for the purpose of burning a perpetual lamp to god Narasiṃha at Vijayāpura (i.e., modern Bijapur).<sup>27</sup>

The Sēūṇa records do not throw any light on the education of women; but the fact that they shouldered responsibilities as heads

24 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 268 ff.

25 A. E. I. E., 1953-54, No. 185.

26 Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Sb. 137.

of administrative divisions and religious institutions shows that they got the requisite education and training.

#### Slavery:

The Sēūṇa sources are silent about the existence or otherwise of the system of slavery. A record refers to free service ~~to~~ rendered by the Sūdras and Kārukas to the god Tri<sup>28</sup>kūtēśvara at Gadag (Sūdrarūṃ Kārukaraṃ bitti-besāṇaṃ māduvaru). But on the ground of this alone it cannot be ascertained that they were slaves purchased for the purpose. A document in the Lēkḥapaddhati alludes to the incident of the sale of a good looking girl of sixteen who was brought captive by Vāghēlā Vīrdṇavala's men during the latter's campaign against the Sēūṇa country.<sup>29</sup> The lady, of course, was from the Sēūṇa land and was sold for sixty drammas. This document is called the Dāśīpatra, a deal putting down the conditions to be followed by the dāśī, the slave, as well as the master who purchased her. The Lēkḥapaddhati gives three other documents of the like nature,<sup>30</sup> which distinguish between the slave (dāśī) who is brought by force and the one who volunteers to be so, on account of poverty or some such reason. These documents indeed are an evidence of the prevalence of slavery in contemporary Gujarat; but nothing can be said about the practice in the Sēūṇa kingdom.

or  
Sati, Sahagamana:

When pātivratya or devotion to husband was considered as a

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27 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.123.

28 Ibid., 1926-27, B.K.No.9.

29 Pp.44-45.

30 Pp.44 ff.

virtue, naturally, the Sati or the <sup>a</sup>Shagamana custom also prevailed. It is, however, to be noted in this connection that whatever ~~he~~ was the reason for the origin of such a custom, it was never compulsory nor did it gain popularity in all classes of people. This practice was unknown in the Vedic age nor do the Dharmasāstras sanction it. The epics mention some ladies entering the funeral pyre, but they speak of widows also. Nevertheless, it did continue to exist for quite a long time <sup>till</sup> ~~until~~ it was ~~by law~~ prohibited by ~~the~~ Lord William <sup>31</sup> Bentinck. So far as the Sūna period is concerned, there are not many references to this custom, but a solitary record falling in the period of Rāmachandra, testifies to <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ prevalence ~~of it~~. The record, dated in the 16th year of the king, commemorates the death of a hero, Gaṇeśvara by name, in a battle, and states that along with <sup>32</sup> him died his wife Jammāyi by entering into the fire.

Like the Sati or Shagamana, another ~~analogous~~ custom was that <sup>some</sup> ~~the~~ devoted servants used to die with their master, at the time of the latter's death. An inscription records the death of a lady Lakkhile, who was the wife of <sup>one</sup> Āchidēva. On her death, the record says, Māyiga and Khēyiga<sup>3</sup> decided that it was no use to live on earth, when they <sup>had</sup> lost their 'mother', and lost their lives by cutting off their heads. <sup>33</sup> Here, though the deceased lady is called Mātri, i.e., the mother, it appears that ~~the~~ <sup>the word</sup> ~~it~~ is not used in the literal sense. In all probability, the two young heroes were the devoted servants of that lady.

31 For a discussion on the subject see Altekar, Position of Women in Hindu Society, 2nd Edn., p.115 ff.

32 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.141.

33 A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.22.



Another case of such self immolation is that of Bomadēva and his wife. The exact circumstances for their sacrifice is not known, but the record says that they offered their heads to keep the promise they gave to their master.<sup>34</sup> It is possible that they had dedicated their lives for their master and at the latter's death, they also embraced death.

#### Delicacies:

Inscriptions refer to food-grains such as paddy, jawar and wheat. Extending from the Narmadā down below to the Tūṅgabhadra, the Sēūṇa country had all varieties of soil and naturally all crops grew. References are found to sugarcane and cotton also. Food of the people of those days must have been the normal vegetarian food consisting of rice, wheat and jawar. Worthy of note here is the special dish which seems to have been very popular in the Sēūṇa country. This dish is Mandakā, called in Kannada Mandage, which is prepared out of wheat flour. This dish, it may be observed, was peculiar to the northern part of the Deccan being unknown in southern countries. Even today, it is known in northern Karnāṭaka and Maharāshṭra. This is a sweet dish to be eaten along with milk and sugar, and while making provision for the offering of this dish the records also mention sugar and milk along with it. Epigraphs show that from the Chālukya days it was considered a highly prized delicacy<sup>fit</sup> to be offered to the gods. Inscriptions record grants of lands making permanent arrangement for offering this dish<sup>to the gods</sup> especially in the night. Thus for instance, one of Bhīllama's subordi-

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34 Ibid., 1944-451, B.K.No.9. Oḍeyarige Koṭṭa bhāshagā tale-  
goṭṭaru.

ates made a grant of 12 mat̐tar of land for the purpose of offering this dish, with milk, to god Kalidēva of Hipparige.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, inscriptions of Siṅghana, Mahādēva and Rāmachandra<sup>36</sup> record the provisions made for the same purpose.

In the neighbouring country of the Hoysaḷas also, this dish was popular. A record of Ballāḷa II, dated 1205 A.D., states that a general made a grant of land for offering Hālu-maṇḍaga (milk and Mandakā) to god Kalidēva every Monday without fail (sōmavāra-sōma-vāra-tappade).<sup>36</sup>

#### Temples and Society:

Temples played a very vital role in the life of the medieval Deccan. Though primarily they <sup>we</sup>are a place of worship, and as such made a small beginning, they in course of time grew in size as also in importance. Primarily, a religious centre, the temple became the nucleus of social activities, <sup>o</sup>political discussions and seat of judgements, besides being a centre of Education and Learning. The main reason for this was <sup>that</sup>the Dharma pervaded through all the activities of the people, individual or collective. Festivals were celebrated <sup>in honour of</sup> ~~to honour~~ god, but their social character was not forgotten, political activities were guided by the rule of Dharma and as such god had to be the witness of all such activities. The officials and Mahājanas therefore used to assemble in the temples and decide matters of crucial importance. The <sup>temple atmosphere</sup> ~~presence of the god~~ again had a very great influence on the wrongdoers. As such the

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35 A.R.S.I.E., 1936-37, B.K.No.30.

36 Ibid., 1938-39, B.K.No.52.

trials of disputes were held in the temples with all the dignataries of the place sitting on judgement. Even Fine Arts like music and dancing were not independent of religion. These services were offered to god and that is how the nāṭya-sā<sup>lā</sup>stava came to be part of the temples.

The Sāūna records do not throw any light on the sports and amusements of those days. A few records refer to fights with tigers<sup>37</sup> and hunting of boars<sup>38</sup>; but it is doubtful if hunting was a sport or the fights were necessitated to ward off the danger to the life of ~~the~~ cattle and <sup>the</sup> public from these wild animals.

#### Public Safety:

Reference in inscriptions to Rakshāpālas and the Bālapurushas indicate that measures for public safety were taken by the Government. But numerous references to ūralivu or danger to the village <sup>from</sup> the neighbouring people; the cattle raids and border fights (simā-sa<sup>mb</sup>bandha-kalaha) show that life was not <sup>free from</sup> ~~exposed~~ all risks. Several records mentioning such raids speak of the hostile acts of the raiders who even indulged in violating the modesty of women, the common expression used in this connection being hendir-udeyu chchuyandu. But such acts were not tolerated by the public and the <sup>brave</sup> ~~people~~ among them protested against the wild acts of the attackers and used to put them to flight.

Some epigraphs refer to the menace of the thieves. A record of the 21st year of Siṅghana for instance, speaks of the attack of thieves on the (village of) Guṇṭeśvara and states that a Nāgiseṭṭi

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37 See for instance, A.R.I.E., 1957-58, No.228 and A.R.S.I.E. 1932-33, B.K.No.126.

died in a struggle with them.<sup>39</sup> A similar incident is recorded  
in an epigraph of Rāmachandra.<sup>40</sup> An inscription of Mahādēva  
narrates that when Ammeyanāyaka was taking his mother to Sāngli<sup>41</sup>  
he had to fight on the bank of Malaprabhā. He lost his life in  
the fight. Apparently ~~that~~ some robbers stopped him in an attempt  
to way<sup>42</sup> lay and rob him.

The youth considered the protection of their land to be  
their first duty and we have an instance of a young hero who pre-  
ferred to risk his life in combating the raiders to marriage.

During the days when places were not connected by good roads  
and journeys were to be made through the forests and transport  
facilities were absent, such incidents were but natural. However,  
except for cattle-raids and occasional attacks from robbers, which  
used to be effectively checked by the villagers, the people enjoyed  
quite a good <sup>measure</sup> ~~amount~~ of safety. The heroes who fought such battles  
on behalf of the village and laid <sup>down</sup> their lives for the cause of the  
people, were hailed as martyrs and suitably commemorated. The pub-  
lic was quite conscious of the fact that such heroes sacrificed their  
lives for the good of all and they took up the responsibility ~~for~~ of  
the maintenance of the family of the dead by making grants for the  
feeding of their families for generations.

39 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.423.

40 Ibid., Sb.No.189.

41 Ibid., Vol.XI, Dg.100. The relevant text Mallupahāriya  
tadiyalu <sup>k</sup> ādi has been incorrectly translated as 'Malla-pahāviya  
stopped her on which he fought bravely and fell'. But the word  
tadiya clearly means the bank and the <sup>term</sup> Mallupahāriya is a mistake  
for Malaprahāri.

The above account of some aspects of <sup>S</sup>Society in the Sēūna kingdom shows that life in general was one of happiness and plenty. Unfortunately, <sup>this</sup> ~~such~~ a society suffered a heavy blow from across the Vindhya which nearly ruined the happy life of the people. When the Hindu kings fought amongst themselves, the common man was hardly affected. But that was not the case with the onslaughts of the Muslims. To the Hindu king Dharma was the guiding principle even in war; but to the Muslim every Dharma except his was heathen. He considered it as a sacred duty to destroy the Hindu idols and their worshippers. Plunder and acquisition of wealth <sup>was</sup> ~~by any means were~~ their motto<sup>s</sup>. The Sēūna country suffered heavily due to this. Loads of gold were carried away from Dēvagiri to Delhi and also the glory of the Sēūna kingdom. Later the country became part of the Muslim empire and the happy pattern of society necessarily underwent a marked change under the alien rule with a culture quite different from its own.

## II. RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

India has been a land of various religions. The catholic outlook of the broad-minded Hindu kings fostered the growth of all religions side by side without mutual hatred, except, of course, for occasional <sup>minor</sup> conflicts, ~~which were in time and antithesis settled~~. The indigenous religions and those that came from outside all took roots in this land, and, though at times, they faced upheavals due to social and political conditions, have continued to live till today. We may <sup>mention</sup> ~~peruse~~ here the prevalent religious conditions in the Sēūna period and country.

## Buddhism:

Buddhism had once been a very popular religion in India. It was to the credit of Āśoka the great that this religion came to be spread in the Deccan. Not only India, but the neighbouring countries too came under the influence of this religion. In course of time, however, with the rise of the Vedantic schools, Buddhism had to recede to the background. But it did not die altogether. Though the Deccan was not a stronghold of Buddhism, some centres did continue to function till late in the medieval period. Thus for instance, Baḷligāve in Shimoga District and Dambaḷ, Nāgāvi and Kōḷāvāḍ in Dharwar District, were some of the centres of Buddhism, in the 11th and 12th centuries.<sup>43</sup> The rise of Śaiva religion subsequently was indeed a severe blow to this religion as well as to Jainism, but perhaps the worst hit was the former. Nevertheless, there is evidence to indicate the existence of this religion in the Sēūṇa country. An epigraph refers to Bauddhālayas and the saṅghas<sup>44</sup> of Bauddhas (Bauddhara neravi) at Inḍi in Bijapur District. An inscription of Bhairavādigi also refers to the Bauddhavādige.<sup>45</sup>

## Jainism:

The impact of Jainism, on the other hand, continued for a longer period in the Deccan and it became a very prominent religion of the area for centuries. Side by side with Hindu religion, Jainism received benevolent patronage from the ruling kings and offici-

43 P.B.Desai: Karnāṭakantīl Bauddha-dharma, Sādhana, 1956.

44 A.R.S.I.L., 1933-34, B.K.No.157.

45 Ibid., 1930-31, B.K.No.1.

als and zealous public. Numerous Jaina records, Jaina monasteries, names of religious teachers, ascetics and disciples and the large numbers of Jaina authors who flourished in this tract, go to prove the influence this religion had on the people. Tolera<sup>ncc</sup>~~tion~~ of other religious sects (paradharmasūāheshnutā) being the ideal of all the ruling powers of medieval age, Jainism flourished even <sup>when</sup> ~~if~~ the ruling kings had leanings towards other religions. The early Kadambas, for instance, were brāhmanas, yet they patronised Jaina monasteries and Jaina teachers. Similarly, the subsequent ruling families supported that religion<sup>6</sup> by liberally donating grants. Jainism had to suffer a severe set back in the middle of the 12th century with the Virāsaiva movement under the leadership of the religious reformist Dasavēśvara. References to persecution of the followers of this religion<sup>46</sup> ~~have~~ have also been found showing that after the middle of the 12th century, Jainism went into bad days. But it is worth noting that this religion, though it decl<sup>ined</sup>, did not die altogether. That, in spite of the rise of Śaivism, Jainism did have its hold on considerable number of all ranks, is evident <sup>from</sup> ~~by~~ the records of subsequent periods. Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV, for instance, was a zealous patron of Jainism and the Sēūnas who followed him did not forsake that religion. Their contemporaries, the Hoysaḷas, on the other part of the Deccan, continued to patronise the propagators of this faith.

In the Sēūna family, Sēūnachandra III, an early member of the family, was a patron of Jaina religion<sup>and he</sup> made a grant of two

46 See Jainism in South India, pp.397 ff.

shops (haṭṭa) for the maintenance of the temple of Chandraprabha (the eighth Tīrthaṅkara).<sup>47</sup> Sōma, a subordinate officer of Jaitugi I, is called Jaināgama-vāṭrdhi-Sōma,<sup>48</sup> indicating his patronage to Jain religion. Siṅghana II's famous minister Bīchiseṭṭi was a zealous Jain devotee. His Lakshmēśvar inscription introduces the Jain teacher Padmasēnammunīndra, the disciple of Mahāsēnabrati.<sup>49</sup> He is described as the rājaguru of Rājāladēvi, the daughter of Bīchiseṭṭi. Rājāladēvi with the consent of her father made a grant of land for the repairs of Vijaya-jinālaya, at Purikara (i.e. Lakshmēśvar) on the advice of her preceptor. Vijaya-jinālaya, the record adds, was in olden days constructed by Sāgaradatta, a merchant of Ayōdhyā, while on his southern tour. Bīchiseṭṭi's adopted son Pāyiseṭṭi was also a devoted disciple of the Jain teachers. Siṅghana's Kalkēri inscription<sup>50</sup> tells us that this bhavyajana-chūdāmaṇi, dharmarakshāmaṇi Pāyiseṭṭi constructed a Chaityālaya, on the advice of his preceptor Kamalasēna-bhaṭṭāraka, who visited this holy place. Kalukere. Kamalasēna was the disciple of Dharmasēna traividya-dēva and belonged to Mūla-saṅgha and Sēna-gaṇa. The record speaks highly of Pāyiseṭṭi's devotion to Jina. This sacred deed was undertaken by him in connection with a nōmṇi or vrata. Another inscription of Siṅghana<sup>51</sup> introduces yet another Jain teacher Nandi-bhaṭṭāraka, belonging to Mūla-saṅgha and Sūrastha-gaṇa.

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47 Ind.Ant., Vol.XII, pp.120 ff.

48 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.157.

49 Ibid., 1935-36, B.K.No.9.

50 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K.No.53.

51 Ind.Ant., Vol.XII, p.100.



Singhana's successors also were benevolent to this religion and their ministers and officials zealously patronised it. An inscription from Hūvinasiggali<sup>52</sup> belonging to Kannara states that a lady (whose name is lost) constructed a Chaityālaya at Piriya Siggali and records a grant of land for the worship of Śāntināthadēva. Similar grants are recorded for the worship of Pārsvanātha at Khēḍa, i.e., Agarkhēḍ, according to another inscription of Kannara at the latter place.<sup>53</sup> To Anantanātha installed in the Chaityālaya at Kalkēri constructed by Pāyiseṭṭi, Sarvadhara-nāyaka, a subordinate official under Kannara,<sup>54</sup> granted a part of income accruing on certain taxes. Another inscription of Kannara introduces the Jaina teachers Bālachandra-bhaṭṭāraka and his disciple & Sakalachandradēva. The latter is stated to have died by resorting to sakala-sanyasana.<sup>55</sup>

Mahādēva's Sangūr inscription mentions two preceptors Naya-kīrti-Bhaṭṭāraka and his teacher Nandi-bhaṭṭāraka. These religious heads belonged to Chitrakūṭ-ānvaya.<sup>56</sup> A record from Hattimattur<sup>57</sup> mentions another Nandi-bhaṭṭāraka. The record being very fragmentary, it is not possible to say if he was the same as his namesake of the Sangūr epigraph. Mahādēva's subordinate officer Kūchirāja was a devout follower of Jina. In honour of his deceased wife Lakshmī, he built a Jaina temple and named it after her as Lakshmī-jinālaya and made a grant of land for the worship of Pārsvanātha

52 A.R.I.E., 1945-46, No.296.

53 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.4.

54 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K.No.54.

55 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.162.

56 Ibid., B.K.No.168.

57 Ibid., B.K.No. 68.

installed therein. The grant was entrusted to his guru Padmasena-  
bhaṭṭāraka under whose instructions he built the temple. Padmasēna,  
it is stated, belonged to Mūla-saṅgha, Sāna-gaṇa and Pogaḷe-gachchha.<sup>58</sup>  
The record is partly broken but still some names of the basadis can  
be made out. They are Chaturmuka-Chaityālaya, Malliseṭṭiya basadi,<sup>59</sup>  
Jinnōjana basadi and Goggiya basadi. It is well known that from  
the very early days Lakṣmīśvar was a famous Jaina centre and the  
record referred to here shows that it continued to be so in the  
Sēūna period also. This record gives the names of the Jaina teachers  
Srīnandi-brati, Jayakīrtiyati, Padmanandi, Nēmichandra and Vijaya-  
chandraḍēva. This school of teachers belonged to Mūlasaṅgha, Sūra-  
stha-gaṇa and Chitrakūṭ-ānvaya. A recently discovered record from  
Hire-anaji mentions a Haripiseṭṭi, who made a grant for the eight-  
fold worship (ashtavidh-ārchana)<sup>60</sup> of Nēminātha. The donor was a  
subordinate of Rāmachandra's minister Parasurāmadēva.

From the very early days, Dambal in Mundargi taluk of Dharwar  
District was a noted religious centre. As seen above, Buddhism pros-  
pered in this place and it was a centre of the Śaivas too. It gave  
shelter to Jainism also. The Nagara-jinālaya of this place was a  
famous seat of the Jainas. Sāḷuva Chavunḍa, one of the officers  
under Rāmachandra, made a grant of money and grains for conducting  
the worship in this jinālaya.<sup>61</sup> Reference has been made to Kalkēri  
above. A record of Rāmachandra from that place introduces an ascetic

58 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.13.

59 A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K.No.28.

60 A.R.I.E., 1960-61, No.B 420.

61 A.R.S.I.E., 1944-45, B.K.No.63.

Samantabhadradēva of the Mūla-saṅgha.<sup>62</sup> Some inscriptions of Rāmachandra from Hire-Awali in Sorab Taluk of Shimoga District introduce some Jaina ascetics indicating thereby that that place was a stronghold of Jainism. The teachers that figure in the records were<sup>63</sup> Dēvanandidēva of Mūla-saṅgha, Kondakud-ānvaya and Sūrastha-gaṇa.<sup>64</sup> Another was Kanarāsenadēva of the same saṅgha and ānvaya, but of Sēna-gaṇa.<sup>65</sup> Still another teacher was Maladhāridēva. Sāluva Tikkama, the famous general of Rāmachandra, also helped for the cause of this religion. He renovated the jinālaya at Māsālavāḍa (Mannere Māsālavāḍa in Harapanahalli Taluk of Bellary District). Mahāmāṇḍa-lēśvara, Manneya Bhairavadēvarasa and others made a grant for the worship and offerings to god Pārśvanātha installed in that temple. The recipient of the gift was Vinayachandradēva, the disciple of<sup>66</sup> Nēmichandra of Mūla-saṅgha, Dēśi-gaṇa and Pustaka-gachcha.

The above account shows that the Sēūna kings and their subordinates did much for the propagation of Jaina religion. Good number of nishidhi stones erected in the memory of the lay disciples of this faith, who preferred to get rid of this world by resorting to saṁādhi, sallēkhana and similar other rites, show that Jainism had a hold on the common people also.

Śaivism:

By far the most popular religion that held sway throughout the medieval days was Śaivism. The rise of this religious system

62 Ibid., 1935-36, B.K.No.72.

63 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.101.

64 Ibid. Sb.124. There is a mistake in this name. This is the reading given in Kannada text. Text in Roman script spells the word as Kanlarāsenadēva. The correct name seems to be Kamalasēnadēva.

eclipsed the other systems like Buddhism and Jainism. It is seen above that as a consequence, Buddhism almost faded out while Jainism continued to exist only secondary to Śaivism.

The form of Śaivism in vogue in the Deccan particularly in the Kannada-speaking area during the period under study and even earlier was that which was propagated by the Kālāmukhas or Lākulaśaivas. A few years before the Sēūnas rose to power, Śaivism got a new impetus under Basavēśvara and came to be known as Viraśaiva. But this latter religion took time to attain popularity and even after the days of Basava, the religion of the Lākulas continued to thrive in the days of the Sēūnas. In course of time, with the growth of the Viraśaiva religion, the Lākulaśaiva religion receded to the background and later the followers of this religion merged themselves into the Viraśaiva sect.

The records of the Sēūna kings show that they, as well as their subordinate chiefs and officials, extended liberal patronage to the teachers of Lākulaśaiva school, by donating handsome gifts to the temples and mathas headed by the teachers of this school. These ascetics were known for their learning and strict celibate life. In addition to propagation of religion, they also conducted educational centres in the mathas attached to the temples. The Bhōgēśvara temple of Pauthage (modern Sālōtgi in Bijapur District) was a centre of these Śaivas and it was headed by Amarēśvaradēva. An inscription of Bhīllama recording a grant to this temple extols the teacher Amarēśvara as well-versed in Lākula-siddhānta and other

65 Ibid., Sb.113.

66 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.387.

<sup>67</sup>  
āgamas. An epigraph from Tamba introduces two teachers of the same school, Chandrarāsi and Śāntavāsi, who were in charge of the temple of Doppēsvara at Tamba.<sup>68</sup>

Gadag in Dharwar District<sup>69</sup> was another prominent Śaiva centre. A record from that place mentions Siddhanta Chandrabhūṣaṇa-paṇḍita-dēva also called Satyavākya who was the disciple of Vidyābharanadēva. He was the head of the famous Tri<sup>ut</sup>kūṣvara temple. Bhillama made a grant of the village Hiriya-Handigoḷa to the temple. Karaḍikal was also a noted Śaiva centre. To god Paśchimasēmanātha of this place, Bhillama's feudatory Kadaṃba Bajjarasa made a grant of land.<sup>69</sup> A later member who belonged to this line was Siddhāntakriyāsaktidēva.<sup>70</sup>

An inscription of Jaitugi from Munḍavallī gives three generations of these teachers as Guhadēvamuni, his disciple Malayāḷa Jhānarāsi-bratīsvara and his disciple Dharmarāsīmuni.<sup>71</sup>

The ~~Murkh~~ Haralhallī plates of Singhana mentions three generations of the preceptors Kalyāṇasakti, his disciple Śarvēsa and the latter's disciple Rudrasakti.<sup>72</sup> The latter was the head of the Sōmanātha temple at Goṭṭagadi on the bank of Tuṅgabhadra, Bīchana or Bīchiseṭṭi installed there two gods Chikkadēva and Mahādēva.<sup>73</sup> Balligāme, the modern Belgame in Shikarpur taluk of Shimoga District was also a Śaiva centre.

67 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.66.

68 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.159.

69 Ep.Ind., Vol.III, pp.217 ff.

70 A.R.I.E., 1953-54, No.240.

70 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.No.9.

71 Ep.Ind., Vol.V, pp.29 ff.

The Kēdārēśvara temple at that place was a centre of the Lakūḷa-śaivas. When Siṅghana was ruling, the priest of the temple was Vāmaśakti, the disciple of Śrīkaṇṭhadēva. The record introducing this teacher states that Mahāpasāyita Hemmeyanāyaka and his wife Ruppabāyi visited that place and, in appreciation of the high attainments of vāmaśakti, made a grant for the worship and offerings to god Kēdārēśvara.<sup>74</sup> The temple of Anantakōṭinātha at Kappatūr in the same district was another seat of the Kālāmūḷhas. Inscriptions of Siṅghana mention two teachers of this sect, Rudraśakti and his brother (probably meaning his colleague) Chikka-Sarvēśvarasakti.<sup>75</sup> Mention is made above of Rudraśakti of the Haralhalli plates, who is the disciple of Sarvēśvara. It is not impossible that both these teachers are identical. Chikka-Sarvēśvarasakti, the colleague of Rudraśakti, might have been named after his teacher Sarvēśvara. The Tilivalli inscription of Siṅghana introduces another branch of this sect of which the contemporary of Siṅghana was Rudraśakti. This Rudraśakti, however, is to be differentiated from his namesake of the Haralhalli plates, for therein, the third teacher in ascent from Rudraśakti is given as Kalyāṇasakti, while in the Tilivalli record he is Kumāra. This latter epigraph mentions these teachers in this order:<sup>76</sup> Vidyābharana - Gēkarṇa - Kumāra - Sarvēśvara and Rudraśakti. This shows that the Lākūḷaśaivas had different sects known as pīḷige or Santati, perhaps on account of the different mathas they established as each priest had his own line of teachers. One such, known as

72 The identification of this place is difficult. It is, however possible that it is the same as modern Chaudadānapura in Ranebennur Taluk of Dharwar District.

73 J.E.B.R.A.S., Vol.XV, p.388.

74 Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.95.

75 Ibid. Vol.VIII. S .270. 272 n 275

parvatāvali and Kittagāve-anvaya, probably named after a village in<sup>77</sup> which it was established is known from the inscription at Raṭṭihalli. The lines of teachers of this branch is given as follows:

Vāmasakti - Rudrasakti-Śrīkaṇṭhadēva - Kiriyāsakti -  
Sarvēśvara - Kalyāṇāsakti - Murujavidēva - Lakulīśvara  
and Mūrujāvi.

The Siddhēśvara temple at Hāvēri in Dharwar District, one other sect<sup>78</sup> of the Kālāmukhas, was headed by Jnānarāsīdēva. In addition to the linga, the garbhagriha of this temple contains an image of a sage,<sup>79</sup> who may well be identified with a Kālāmukha ascetic.

Lakshmēśvara, it is seen above, was a noted Jaina centre. It fostered Śaivism also. The temple of Sōmanātha in this place had attained importance from the Chālukya days. Two Sēūna records from<sup>80</sup> this place mention the Lākula-Śaiva teachers Kēdaradēva and Mūrujāvi. The inscriptions from Kawatāl in Manvi taluk of Raichur District<sup>81</sup> speak of Vāmarāsi-yogīśvaradēva and Sankarāśī-paṇḍita. The latter two belonged to Vāmarāśī<sup>85</sup> lineage. It is stated in these records that Bēchiseṭṭi, the setṭigutta of Morāṭa 300, made a grant to the temple<sup>81</sup> of Tryāmbakēśvara on being advised by Yōgīśvara.

A record from Manōli introduces a Kālāmukha saint Sarvēśvara-dēva and states that the members of his line were the heads of the mathas at Vēlṅugrāma, Nesarige, Gōkāge, Koṭṭumbāgi in Halasige 12000

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76 K.S.P.P., Vol.28, pp.1 ff.

77 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.95.

78 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, No.87.

79 ~~Ibid., 1935-36, No. K.H.R., vol. I~~ I owe this suggestion to S. H. G. Benpu

80 Ibid., 1935-36, Nos. 25-26.

81 A.R.I.E. 1957-58 Nos.379-80.

and Gōḷiyahallī.<sup>82</sup> An inscription of Mahādeva from Rattihallī<sup>83</sup> mentions tapa-tēja-chakravartī Mūjāvidēva in whose presence, Viṭhala-danḍanāyaka made a grant. Mūjāvi is apparently the abbreviation of Mūrujāvi and as the name indicates, he also <sup>seems to</sup> ~~must~~ have belonged to the Parvatāvalī and Kiṭṭagāve-anvaya mentioned above. It is not impossible that he is identical with his namesake of the earlier inscription.

In addition to the above ascetics a good number of other inscriptions mention others belonging to this sect. It is interesting to note that most of these teachers were styled rājaguru or the royal preceptors and this indicates their influence on the ruling kings.

Like Śiva, his śakti, Durgā, was also worshipped as is revealed from an inscription of Siṅghana from Kundgol.<sup>84</sup> The other form of śakti is named in another record of Siṅghana as Śankarādēvi.<sup>85</sup>

Virasaivism:

The Sēūṇa country saw the rise of some new schools of religious and philosophical thought. One of them is the Virasaiva sect. This reformist religion which came mainly as a reaction to the Brahmanic ritualistic religion, was propagated by Basavēśvara, the minister of Kalachurya Bijjala in the middle of the 12th century. But it took some time for this sect to catch the imagination of the people, and to grow popular among them. As such we do not hear much about this new religion in the Sēūṇa period. However some traces of its existence can be found in the Sēūṇa records.

82 Kr.Ins., Vol.I, p.74.

83 A.R.D.E., 1958-59, No.595.

84 A.R.S.I.E., 1938-39, B.K.No.78.

5 A.R.I.E 955-6 N . 9.



86 The most important of such records is the Arjunavāḍa inscription of Kannara. It is the first and <sup>so far</sup> the only epigraphical record establishing the historicity of Basavēśvara. In conformity with the literary source, this record gives the name of his father as Mādirāja, and his birth place as Bāgavāḍi, i.e., Bāgēvāḍi in Bijapur District. The record says that Basava had deep faith in purāṇas, Jaṅgamas and līṅga, which are the characteristics of the Vīraśaiva sect. The epigraph records certain grants made to Hālabasavidēva, a descendant of Basavēśvara, for the worship and offerings to god as well as feeding the jaṅgamas. It is significant that the donor of the grant was Chaudiseṭṭi, the son of the Malliseṭṭi, the brother of the famous Bichiseṭṭi. This indicates that the Vīraśaiva religion in this period was slowly gaining ground and was being patronised by men in position. Bichiseṭṭi, it is known, was a devout Jaina, though he patronised Śiva worship too. Chaudiseṭṭi was a Śaivite and the present record shows that he was attracted by the new religious faith of the Vīraśaivas.

From traditions we know of a Siddharāma who is supposed to have been a contemporary of Basavēśvara. It is stated that he was a zealous Śaiva and kept himself busy in charitable deeds such as building temples and tanks. It is also believed that he was later on converted into Vīraśaivism by Allamaprabhu, another contemporary of Basav Siddharāma, like other Vīraśaiva protagonists, is said to have composed some sayings or Vachanas as they are called. Some Sēūṇa records corroborate this. They contain two Vachanas by him which are not however found in the collection of Vachanas ascribed to him. It has been con-

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jectured that these Vachanas were first composed by Siddharāma as a preamble to some grants to the temple made during his time.<sup>87</sup> That these Vachanas served the purpose of enjoining the people to protect the grant, is clear from the fact that a number of records of the Sēūnas, right from the reign of Bhillama,<sup>88</sup> quote them before recording the grant. Siddharāma was a native of Sonnalige, i.e., modern Sholapur in Maharashtra, and by the temple of Mallikārjuna built by Siddharāma there, it came to be known as a holy place, comparable to Śrīsaila. The Sēūna grants refer to the place as abhinava Śrīsaila and a kshētra.

Chaudadānapura, in Dharwar District, was another Vīrāsaiva centre during this period. This was a centre of Kālāmukhas from the days of the Chālukyas and with the rise of the Vīrāsaiva, it became a seat of the followers of the latter faith. One of the inscriptions of this place states in the fashion of a purāṇa that one of the ganas of Lord Śiva in Kailāsa incarnated <sup>himself</sup> in the form of an ascetic <sup>by name</sup> Śivadēva and 'entered' Mukṣhishētra (i.e., Chaudadānapura) at noon on the 15th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, in Śaka 1148, Monday, on which day was a lunar eclipse.<sup>89</sup> Inscriptions of this place contain eulogistic accounts of this saint and speak highly of his scholarship and righteousness. From the fact that the Sēūna kings and their officers made handsome grants to this sage, it becomes clear that the influence of Vīrāsaiva religion was steadily growing. A record states that Mahādēva instructed his minister Dēvarasa to grant a village to yōga-siddha Śivadēva and that he did accordingly.<sup>90</sup> Gutta IV of the feuda-

87 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 191.

88 For the Vachanas see Chapter XI below, pp. 411-12.

89 Śivadēvavilāsa, App. I, Inscription No. IV. The date corresponded to 1226 A.D., September 7.

90 Ibid., App. I, Inscription No. III.

tory family of the Guttas of Guttavolal was initiated into this religious order<sup>91</sup> and the members of this family apparently were enthusiastic patrons of this new religion.

An inscription of Singhana from Puluñj<sup>92</sup> in Sholapur District, introduces Ammidēva who seems to have been a Vīrasaiva saint. He is described in the epigraph as Sivāchāranirata, Saranasantāna and Līngakadēhi. It is interesting to note that Ammidēva is also called Ammugidēvarasa. Tradition mentions an Ammugidēvayya as a Vīrasaiva saint and as the author of Vachanas. It is not impossible that Ammidēva of the Puluñj record is identical with the latter. Another inscription of Singhana from Kokatnur<sup>93</sup> in Belgaum District, speaks of Bhavya, who is stated to have merged himself into the līnga. The record extols ashta-vidhār-chane and devotion to līnga.

Though in the Sēūna days this sect was not as popular as Jainism or the Kālāmukha school of Śaivism, in the days that followed it eclipsed the latter two and today it is the most prominent religion in Karnāṭaka.

#### Vaishnavism:

The above account shows that the worship of Śiva was quite predominant in the Sēūna kingdom. But it is also worth noting that the forms of Vishnu also were being worshipped. In fact there is reason to believe that the Sēūna kings were worshippers of Vishnu. They are called Sāraṅgapānidēva-padānudyāta,<sup>94</sup> i.e., meditating upon the

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91 Ibid., No.VI, line 70 'Antu Sivaganaprasādadi Śivadēvana  
<sup>k</sup>Kārunyamam padadu Sriṣōmanātha-līngavanavadharisikombasamayadalli.

92 S.M.H.D., Vol.II, No.18.

93 Kr.Ins., Vol.II, pp.129 ff.

95 See for instance, A.R.S.I.E.; 1936-37, B.K.No.44; A.R.I.E.,

feet of Sarangapāni, i.e., Kṛishṇa or Vishṇu. A record from Tasgaon states that Singhana was born by the favour of Narasimhī, the 'sakti of Narasimha, an avatāra of Vishṇu. It is not unlikely that Narasimha was the tutelary deity of the Sēūnas.

A record of Bhillama from Mutgi<sup>95</sup> states that Vaddavyavahāri Chaudiseṭṭi had installed the deity Lakshmi-Narasimha and Bhillama on a request made by his officers Pēyiyasāhani and Malleyasāhani made a grant of the village Bivavura to that deity. Vijayapura, i.e., Bijapur, was a famous Vaishṇava centre, the deity there being Narasimha.<sup>96</sup> An epigraph of Jaitugi records a grant to this god. Bhāgubāyi, the sarvādhikāri<sup>97</sup> under Singhana, made a similar grant to this deity. An inscription of Singhana from Chinnatumbulam praises Yōga-Narasimha and records a grant made to that god. A subordinate of Singhana, Rannugi by name, is described as Nārasimha-Pādōdaka-sampūta.<sup>99</sup> An inscription from Hāvēri refers to Bhāgavatas<sup>100</sup> of that place thus showing the prevalence of the Vishṇu worship.

An inscription from Hubli makes a reference to another Vaishnavit<sup>e</sup> god Vithala<sup>t</sup> of Pandarangē, i.e., Pāṇḍharapura of the present day in Sholapur District. Mahālakshmi, the consort of Vishṇu, was also worshipped.<sup>102</sup> The temple of this deity at Kolhapur in Maharashtra is famous even today.

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1958-59, No.B 545, Ibid., 1960-61, No.B 400.

95 Ep.Ind., Vol.XV, p.36.

96 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.131.

97 Ibid., B.K.No.132.

98 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Part II, No.367.

99 K.S.P.P., Vol.28, p.3.

100 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.98.

101 Ibid., 1926, No.426.

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Madhvāchārya, one of the great saints and thinkers of India who propounded the Dvaita theory of philosophy, was the contemporary of the Sēūnas. He was born in 1238 A.D. in a place near Udipi in South Kanara District. After he took up sanyāsa, he toured all over India to propagate his new <sup>philosophy</sup> ~~theory~~ as well as the cult of <sup>Vishnu-</sup> ~~bhakti~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Vishnu~~, of which he was an advocate. Though the worship of Vishnu was in vogue in the Sēūna country, it is apparent that Madhva could not wield any influence there. In Madhva-vijaya, a biography of his, an incident is narrated which appears to refer to his connection with one of the Sēūna kings. It is stated that when on his Northern tour, Madhva passed through Dēvagiri, <sup>the earth</sup> <sup>labourer</sup> ~~Isvaradēva~~ of Dēvagiri ordered the Āchārya to dig like an ordinary ~~man~~, which Madhva refused. On the basis of this, it has been tried to show that the ruler of Dēvagiri harassed the Āchārya while passing through his territory. This <sup>104</sup> ~~Isvaradēva~~ is identified with Mahādēva and to corroborate his haughty behaviour as depicted in the Madhva-vijaya, efforts are made to show that he was a tyrant. <sup>105</sup> But there are no sound grounds to prove this. As it is, the narration in the Madhva-vijaya sounds more mythical than historical. There is no reason to think that Mahādēva was a usurper. On the other hand, as it is shown earlier, he was for sometime ruling jointly with his brother, after whose death he became the king. Mahādēva, his records show, was a person of religious disposition and there could not be any particular <sup>reason</sup> ~~ground~~ for harassing a saint. Further, if ~~Madhva~~ Madhva's 2nd Northern tour, when this incident is said

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102 See B.I.S.M., Vol.XV, p. 19.

103 B.N.K. Sarma, History of Dvaita Philosophy, Vol.I, p.102.

104 Saletore: Ancient Karnataka, Vol.I, p.438.

105 Ibid., p.437.

to have happened, took place between 1276 A.D. and 1286 A.D. <sup>106</sup> Mahā-  
dēva could not have been alive then. It is shown already that Mahā-  
dēva was succeeded by Rāmachandra, after a brief interval when Āmaṇa  
ruled in 1271 A.D. <sup>107</sup> So if at all this ugly incident happened at  
Dēvagiri, it must have been with a petty chief of the name Īsvara-  
dēva. More probably, the narration is to be accounted for as the  
enthusiasm on the part of the author of the biography to extol his  
hero, the Āchārya.

#### Mahānubhāvi Sect:

One other religious sect that grew on the Sēūṇa ground was  
that which is known as Mahānubhāva-pantha.

The Mahānubhāvas, the followers of this sect as they are call-  
ed, were the worshippers of Kṛishṇa and as such belonged to the Vaish-  
navite fold. But the peculiarity of this sect is that it does not  
admit of the worship of any other form of Viṣṇu except Kṛishṇa. The  
main tenets of the philosophy of this school are that, for attaining  
salvation or mōksha a being has to be born as Jīva and ~~to~~ acquire know-  
ledge or jñāna through the guru. After practicing religious observ-  
ances in many births, the jīva becomes entitled to mōksha. They be-  
lieved in Ahimsā and sanyāsa and saguna-bhakti. Devotion to the guru  
was given very much importance. Both men and women were allowed to  
be the sanyāsins and sūdras also were allowed in the fold of the  
cult.

106 Ibid., p.439.

107 The argument that he lived till 1291 A.D. (Ibid., p.436) is  
based on an extremely doubtful <sup>epigraphical</sup> record.

Traditionally, god Dattatrēya is beliyed to be the founder of this sect and as such it is called Dattatrēya-sampradāya also. <sup>108</sup> It is also known as Bhaṭamārga. Chakradhara was the first of the saints of this religious order.

The Sēūṇa king patronised this new religious school. ~~A matha~~ A matha for the followers of this sect was built in Śrīnagara, i.e. Sinner in the name of Bhillama and called Bhillama-maṭha. Kannara held the teachers of this sect in high regard and on one occasion, he went to Tonār to pay respects to Chakradhara, when Mahādēva also accompanied his brother. Mahādēva also paid a visit to Chakradhara at Śrīnagara. Vaijāyī, the queen of Mahādēva, seem to have been a follower of this sect and she built a temple of Vaijanātha<sup>109</sup> at Pai-thaṇṇā. Rāmachandra's queen Kāmāyī also was a devotee of Nāgadēva-chārya, who was the disciple of Chakradhara. <sup>109</sup> But Rāmachandra, it appears, was not well disposed towards the teachers of this religion. Līlācharitra informs us that Rāmachandra forced Chakradhara to leave Dēvagiri. Another work Nāgadēvāchārya-charita states that Rāmachandra killed the brother of Parasurāmyāsa, the author of that work, and that he also persecuted the saints of this sect. Bhaṭōbhasa, a saint of this sect, is said to have cursed Rāmachandra saying that his king-<sup>110</sup>dom would remain only till he (i.e. the saint) lived. No reason are however known for Rāmachandra's hostile attitude towards these saints. It is not unlikely that they backed Āmana <sup>self</sup> against him, in his struggle to get the kingdom for him.

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108 Y.K. Deshpande; Mahānubhāvīya Mātṛhi Vāṇmayā

109 J.I.H. Vol.V, p. 202.

110 J.I.H., Vol.V, p.199 ff.

### Islām:

It is obvious that after the first invasion of Dēvagiri by Alā-ud-dīn, the religion of Islām spread into the Sēūna land. But there is reason to believe that Islām had stepped into the country even earlier. It is said that two sufi teachers Mumin Arif and Jalāl-ud-dīn Ganjrawān carried out their activities in the Sēūna kingdom much earlier than the Muslim invasion.<sup>111</sup> But with the invasion, the first of which took place in 1294 A.D., the Muslims came to settle in this land. A record of Hāmachandra dated in 1298 A.D. records a grant to a mosque,<sup>112</sup> thus clearly showing the spread of Islām during the period. With the fall of Dēvagiri, which thence forth became a part of the Muslim empire, Islām took roots in the Sēūna land.

### Religious Toleration:

A word in passing may be said here about the attitude of the kings and people towards different religious systems. Religious toleration has been a feature of Hindu civilisation from the very early days. This policy of 'live and let live' has been responsible for the harmonious growth of all religions in this land, creating no conflict. Rise and decline of different religions have been noticed indeed but that is due to natural circumstances but not due to fanaticism on the part of the followers of one or the other religion. Surely, we have examples of persecution but they are very few and perhaps such instances were due to the enthusiasm of some individuals rather than an avowed policy of a class of people. We have, for instance,

111 Struggle for Empire, Foreward, p.XVI.

112 A.B.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 170.



examples of persecution of the Jainas by Vīrāśaiva saints like Ekan-  
tada Rāmayya and a few others.<sup>113</sup> But Jainism did not die on account  
of that. In fact, it continued to be a popular religion in the  
Kannāḍa country for more than a century to come. Only when gradually  
the Vīrāśaiva faith spread itself among the people, the Jaina creed  
receded to the background. Inscriptions give a happy picture of the  
harmonious flourishing of different religions in one and the same  
place. Kiri-Indi, the present Indi in Bijapur District, for example,  
was one such centre. An epigraph of Jaitugi describes it as a place  
where there were the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples of the Hindus and  
the monastries of Jainas and Bauddhas.

Harī-grihadīm Hara-grihadīm |

Suragrihadīm-Aruha-grihadīmde Bauddhalayadīm

Goravara savanara Bauddhara

neravigalīm-Indinādu sogavisi-torkum ||<sup>114</sup>

Such an attitude towards religions was due to the fundamen-  
tal belief that god is one, though worshipped in different forms (Ekam  
sad viprā bahudhā vadanti). A lithic record in Belūr beautifully sums  
up this idea thus:

Yam śaivā samupāstē Śiva iti Brahm-eti vedaṇtīnō

Bauddhā Buddha iti pramāṇapaṭavaḥ kart-eti Nayyāyikāḥ |

Arāhach-eti ha Jaina-śāsṇaratāḥ Karm-eti Mīmāṃsakāḥ

sō-yam vōvidhādātu vāñchhita-padam śrī Kēsavēśas-śādā ||<sup>115</sup>

The existence of Islām in the country before the invasion of the  
Muslims is also due to this very attitude of toleration.

113 Jainism in South India, pp.397 ff.

114 A.R.S.I.E. 1933-34, D.K.No.157.

115 Ibid., Vol.V, Bl.

### Temples:

In religious systems where idol worship is of primary importance, temples occupy a very important position. India being a land of religion, temple-building activities also became inevitable. Though Buddhism and Jainism did not believe in god, the followers of these creeds also required a place to offer their respects to the Buddha and Arhat respectively and hence came to be constructed the Vihāras ~~and~~ Chaitvālayas and Jinālayas.

It has been observed earlier that though the primary purpose in building temples was to install a deity therein and offer worship they later on grew into social and educational institutions, with all the activities of the people centred round these institutions.

Building temples and installing deities therein and granting donations was considered a holy act and occasions to do this holy deed were many such as coronation, victory, for the heatitude for and in the name of the deceased persons for the donors' own welfare and the like.

When temples were built, ~~and~~, the people offering various services to the deity and the temple would naturally stay around in and the area came to be known as pura or the township of the god. The area of the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Gadag, for instance, was known as Nārāyaṇapura,<sup>116</sup> while the one of the temple of Indrēsvara<sup>117</sup> at Baṅkāpura was called Indrēsvarapura. In fact, an inscription of Rāmachandra refers to the creation of a pura after installing the

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116 ARSIE, 1926-27, <sup>Bu</sup> No. 13

117 Ibid, 1933-34, Bu No. 117.

deity Traipurushēśvaradēva. The record also enjoins that no injustice be allowed to take place in the pura nor the people without children be allowed to stay there and also that it was the duty of all the authorities and bodies to protect the pura against all dangers. <sup>118</sup>

The temples were usually placed in charge of a priest, whose duty it was to worship the god and to look after the lands and other gifts donated for the benefit of the temple. He was known as āchārya or sthān-āchārya. Not all could head the temples. People with high attainments in learning and leading a righteous life were selected for this position which commanded the respect of even the royal families. Utmost importance was given to the character of the priest and naturally so. The record of Rāmachandra, referred to above, lays down the following qualifications for the priest who is herein called Kshētra-sanyāsi:

Alubdhas=satyavādī cha brahmachārī dṛḍhāvratāḥ  
Śivabhaktaḥ kṣamāyuktaḥ kṣhētravāsī sa uchyatē |  
prātā[ḥ\*] śūnyī naktā-bhōjē sa pūjārhas=tāpōnvitāḥ  
Ētadguṇaikahīnas=tu pūjakō=pi na ch=arhati ||

(A kshētravāsī should not be greedy and should speak the truth. He must be a brahmachārī, intent on his vows (vratas). He must be a devotee of Śiva; and he must be kind-hearted (kṣamāyuktaḥ). A person not possessed of (even) one of these qualities, does not deserve to be a worshipper. A record of Giṅghana also enjoins that when a priest does not practice brahmacharya, he should be driven out of the pura. <sup>119</sup>

118 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.138.

119 A.R.I.E., 1952-53, B.K.No.95 (brahmacharyavilladavaram puradin poravadisuvaru).

Among the services in the temple, worship of the god was most important and this, it seems, was conducted thrice in a day - morning, noon, and in the night (trikāla-pūje). Permanent provisions were made for elaborate worship and other services. For the flowers to god, lands were granted to maintain gardens. Sometimes money was endowed the interest on which was to be utilised for such purposes. For nandādīpa, the perpetual lamp near the deity, oil mills were granted or it was stipulated that the oil merchants should give regularly a measured quantity of oil. Some times, a person was appointed to supply flower garlands and a grant was made for his maintenance.

For the offerings (naivēdya) also to the god, permanent endowments were established. Some records even give details as to which dish was to be offered at what time. Thus for instance, a record speaks of a grant of paddy (for the purpose of preparing rice) for offering to god at the time of Maṅgal-ārati in the morning. Another record specifies that in the morning, rice and curds were to be offered, at noon Maṇḍage of Kaṇika (i.e., Kaṇaka or wheat flour) and ghee, and in the evening, pāyasa of rice and ghee.

Music and dancing were two other essential services provided for in the temple. The custom of dedicating the girls to the temples was to provide for this service. A record refers to the construc

120 A.R.E.I.E., 1926-27, B.K.No.200-01.

121 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K.No.98.

122 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.123.

123 Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.41.

124 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.123 (Udayada maṅgalarātiya samayada naivēdyakke).

125 E.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.I, No.376.

tion of nṛitya-vistara-saṇṭapā (a spacious dancing hall) in the temple of Mānikēśvara and the provision for the houses of vārāṅgaṇas (dancing girls) who apparently were to render their services in the temple.<sup>126</sup> A record of Singhana makes grants for the singer.<sup>127</sup> An epigraph of Rāmachandra refers to the arrangements for the playing of musical instruments thrice in a day before god Narasimhadēva of Vijaya pura and records grants for Maddaḷeya Kalla and his brother for offering this service.<sup>128</sup>

Arrangements were also made for the upkeep of the temples by providing funds for necessary expenses. For instance, a record of Mahādēva states that the king made a grant of land to <sup>the temples of</sup> Īśvarakēśava and Narasimha, for the purpose of carrying out every year at a mandapa, the work of white-washing (chūrṇa-nirmalīkaraṇa) <sup>and</sup> repairs (sphuṭa-nirā-karaṇa) and for removing the bushes grown on the construction (taḍ-upari vallī-gulma-taru-sphēṭana).<sup>129</sup> Carpenters, masons and blacksmiths were also given grants for their maintenance, with the stipulation<sup>130</sup> that they were to render the necessary services in the temples.

Some temples had arrangements for the feeding of the ascetic<sup>s</sup> and travellers as for example, in the temple of Kalidēva in Hiriyakittūr in Hichige-nāḍu, to which mahāraṇḍalōśvara Chāvṛugidēvarāṇeya,<sup>131</sup> made a grant for providing for the feeding of five people every day.

In some temples provisions were made for conducting ~~the~~

126 A.R.S.I.E., 1940-41, B.K.No.107.

127 Ibid., 1926-27, B.K.No.9 (Hāḍuvalli uḍugore).

128 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K.No.129. See also Ibid., B.K.No.138, for a grant of two types of Maddaḷekāras (drummers).

129 B.I.S.M., Vol.XI, S.M.H.D., Vol.III, No.24(2).

130 See for instance, A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K. Nos.200-01; Ibid. 1938-39, B.K.No.65; Kr.Ins., Vol.II, p.124 and A.R.I.E. 1957-58,

religious discourses. In a temple built by Gōvindarāja, a feudatory of Sēūnachandra II, the builder made grants to <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ person who was to <sup>132</sup> conduct religious discourses (punya-vyākhyāna-kārinā).

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No.208.

131 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.140.

132 Ep.Ind., Vol.II, p.229, V.B.

## CHAPTER XI

### EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

#### I EDUCATION

A characteristic feature of educational institutions of the medieval period was that they were residential, though established in towns and cities. Imparting education was not solely the responsibility of the State. It was the sense of Dharma that motivated the spread of education. Making provision for the imparting of knowledge was considered as vidyādāna, a meritorious deed, and as such people voluntarily came forth to establish educational institutions and provide for their continuance. The kings also took interest in such institutions and encouraged their growth. We find a number of kings and other members of royal families, feudatories, ministers and other officers, instituting educational centres and liberally providing for the growth of those which already existed. Students studying in these institutions did not have to pay any fees. And for the maintenance of both the teachers and the taught <sup>in a majority of cases</sup> endowments were made from the income of which the institutions were to be run. There were educational institutions of specified types which would cover the study of particular subjects as the one in Fāṭan in Śiṅghana's time, where astrology was taught.

The four main types of educational institutions known to us through inscriptions are Maṭha, Ghatikāsthāna, Brahmapuri and Agrahāra. There were indeed differences in the nature and scope of these institutions, but these differences can only be vaguely known because of the paucity of details in this regard.

Maṭhas were generally institutions attached to temples and the head of the temple was the head of the institution also. One

such Maṭha was in Pāṭan near Chālisgaon in Jalgaon District. This Maṭha was founded by Chaṅgaḍēva, the grandson of the famous astronomer Bhāskarāchārya and the chief astrologer in the court of Siṅghaṇa. The Maṭha was founded, it is said, specially for the study of Siddhāntasirōmaṇi and other works of Chaṅgaḍēva's grandfather and relatives. Certain endowments were made for the income <sup>for</sup> of this Maṭha by the two brothers Sōvidēva and Hemmāḍidēva, the subordinates of Siṅghaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

The Mallikārjuna temple at Sonnalige, modern Sholapur, was called a Maṭha.<sup>2</sup> It was an important Śaiva centre and it is not improbable that it was also an educational centre. The temple of Siddhēśvara at Vāghlī also had an educational centre attached to it. Gōvindarāja of the Maurya family who was a subordinate of Sēūnachandra II made a grant to this temple for the purpose, among others, of the feeding <sup>of</sup> the students engaged in studies (vidyābhyāsaratānam chhātrānam <sup>b</sup> Bhōjanāya).<sup>3</sup>

Ghaṭikāsthāna,<sup>4</sup> was another type of educational institution. A record of Siṅghaṇa mentions a Ghaṭikāsthāna at Bommakūr in Goṅkanāḍu. Similarly, those at Kaḍalevāḍ, in Bijapur District and Nāgāi in Gulbarga District where some of the famous Ghaṭikāsthānas, even from earlier days continued to be so in the Sēūna period also.

Brahmapuri was different in nature and scope from the above two. As the name indicates, Brahmapuri was the settlement forming a part of the village or town, where the learned Brāhmaṇas were housed

1 Ep.Ind., Vol.I, pp.338 ff.

2 ARSI, 1936-37, B.K. No. 53

3 Ep.Ind., Vol.II, p.227, verse 6.

4 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.57.



for the purpose of educating the children of that place. In the village Hārūr for instance, Malliseṭṭi, the son-in-law of Bīchiseṭṭi, the famous general of Siṅghana, instituted a Brahmapuri. For this purpose he obtained a hundred and eighty nivartanas of land and some house-sites for building houses (brahmapūrī-griha-nirmāṇārtham). He granted land to various Brāhmaṇas well versed in different sāstras.<sup>5</sup> When Bīchiseṭṭi himself instituted a Brahmapurī at Ritti in the name of his father Chikkadēva, he selected the brāhmaṇas proficient in learning as well as in propounding the sāstras, built houses for them and gave them lands for their maintenance.<sup>6</sup>

Like Maṭhas some Brahmapurīs also were attached to temples. For instance, the Brahmapuri established by Bīchiseṭṭi was attached to the temple of Chikkēśvara. Similarly, the one in Uddhare in Jidḍuḷige Kāmpaṇa of Banavāsi 12000 was attached to the temple of Lakshmī-nārāyaṇa.<sup>7</sup> The Brahmapurī at Akkalkot was attached to the temple of god Saṅgamēśvara.<sup>8</sup>

Hire-Bēvinūr in Indi taluk of Bijapur District had a Brahmapurī during the period of Bhillama.<sup>9</sup> A record of Jaitugi I speaks of a Brahmapurī at Dēvanagarī in the Sindgi taluk of the Bijapur District.<sup>10</sup> Lakshmī, the daughter of the general Khōlēśvara, is stated to have constructed a temple in the Brahmapurī <sup>at</sup> Ambe.<sup>11</sup> Shābāl, in Shiggaon Taluk of Dharwar District, also appears to have had a Brahma-

5 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXIV, p.39.

6 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XV, pp.388 ff.

7 Kr.Ins., Vol.II, Nos.33-34.

8 Ep.Carn., Vol.VIII, Sb.135.

9 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.36.

10 Ibid., 1937-38, B.K.No.18.

11 A.S.W.I., Vol.III, p.89, v.35.

<sup>12</sup>  
puri, as also Mudgal in the Lingsugur taluk of Raichur District. <sup>13</sup>  
Anṇigēri, a famous religious centre throughout the medieval period,  
had a Brahmapuri, to the <sup>inmates</sup> ~~brahmanas~~ of which Malliseṭṭi made grants <sup>14</sup>  
during the time of Kannara.

If Mathas, Ghatikāsthānas and Brahmaouris were institutions situated in village or towns, Agrahāras were separate townships by themselves. They were constituted by housing a number of families of learned Brāhmanas in particular villages with their exclusive authority over such villages, generally with the stipulation that even the Government servants were not to enter these Agrahāras (achāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśya) and that all the incomes from taxes and the like would go to the Agrahāras and not to the Government. The dwellers of the Agrahāras were generally exempted from the usual dues to be paid by the citizens to the Government officials (rāja-sēvakānām vāṣṭi-danḍa-prayāṇa-danḍau na staḥ). <sup>15</sup> For example, an Agrahāra was formed by Rāmachandra by combining the three villages Vādāṭhāna-grāma, Pātarapīmpala-grāma and Vaidyaghōghara-grāma (agrahārī-kṛitva) and gave that to the fiftyseven Brāhmanas, together with all the taxes and other incomes from these villages. It was, however, laid down that the Brāhmanas and their successors were entitled to enjoy the grant but not to mortgage it (na ch-ādhēyaṁ kadāchana). <sup>16</sup> Another record of the same king adds that the inmates of the Agrahāra are not entitled to sell their grant land (n-ādhēyaṁ na cha vikrēvaṁ). <sup>17</sup>

12 A.R.S.I.E., 1944-45, B.K.No.45.

13 A.R.I.E. 1953-54, No.253.

14 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, No.426.

15 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, p.318, line 97.

16 Ibid., p.319, line 98.

This shows that the inmates had the right of enjoyment and not the right of property,

When <sup>it</sup> ~~thus~~ generally the Agrahāras were tax-free, it may be noted that in some cases the Agrahāras had to pay a stipulated amount to the Government. An instance of this type is found in a record of Kannara. <sup>18</sup> Chāuṇḍarāja, the general of Kannara, established the Agrahāra of Kukkanūr and made a grant of it to the learned Brāhmaṇas. Though the grant was made together with all incomes in the usual way, it is stated in the record that the dwellers in the Agrahāra were to regularly pay four hundred nishkas ~~currency~~ (dēsaparivartana-yōgyaiḥ chatus-sata-samkhyā parimitaiḥ-nishkair-nivata-karam-agrahāram kritvā).

Some Agrahāras associate their <sup>origin</sup> ~~creation~~ with mythical heroes or saints. The Lakkunḍi Agrahāra, for instance, claims to have been created by the epic hero Rāmachandra (Rāmarādattī). The Agrahāra of Gadag is said to have been founded by Janamējaya, while the one of Hāvēri, by Naḷa.

The inmates of the Agrahāras were known for their learning and character and it was only such people that were selected for residing there. It was enjoined generally that the residents should lead a high order of life and no room should be given for any type of vice. For instance, an inscription of Mahādēva specifically lays down that the residents should always <sup>tread</sup> ~~go~~ on the right <sup>course</sup> path (svayaṁ vasatibhir-bhāvyaṁ sadā sanmārga-vertibhiḥ) and that the courtesans or the gamblers should not be allowed to dwell there (panyāṅganānām sadanaṁ na dēvaṁ dyūta-prachar-ōpi nivāraṇīyah). <sup>19</sup> Naturally, in such a place where righteous-

17 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXI<sup>V</sup>, p. 218

18 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XII, pp.42 ff.

19 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXII, pp.44, lines 124 ff.

ness reigned, there was no fear <sup>from</sup> any danger and therefore no special arrangements for protection were needed. In fact a record of Rāma-chandra prohibits the keeping of arms in the Agrahāra (śastrādikaṃ cha-  
āpi na dhāraṇīyam).<sup>20</sup>

The administration of the Agrahāras was looked after by the Mahājanas to whom a reference has been made in connection with the village administration. As stated therein, these non-official representatives were people of high calibre and learning who wielded immense influence on the local population.

About the courses of study followed in these institutions, it is to be admitted that nothing definite can be said, the relevant material being too scanty and vague. About primary education in particular the information we get is very meagre. The Dharwar plates of Sīnghana refer to bālasikṣhe,<sup>21</sup> which ~~possibly~~ means the teaching of the children. Though it is possible that the Maṭhas attached to the temples carried on the work of primary education, not all Maṭhas could be classified as primary schools. Maṭha in the medieval days was used in the general sense of a <sup>religious</sup> institution. We have seen above that the Maṭha established by Changadēva at Pāṭan, during the time of Sīnghana, was an institution meant for higher studies and it was dedicated to the study of the works of Bhāskara<sup>44</sup>chārya and his relatives. The subjects ~~that were~~ generally taught were the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras, Grammar and the like. It is doubtful if there were any schools for professional courses. Most of the professions being carried on in a hereditary way, children used to ~~naturally~~ get their train-

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20 Ind.Ant., Vol.XIV, p.319, lines 99-100.

21 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXIV, p.41.

ing at their homes only, in the profession their parents practiced.

~~Literature:~~

Sanskrit

## II LITERATURE

The Sēūna period<sup>22</sup> has made a significant contribution to Sanskrit literature in variety if not in quantity. The famous family of the noted astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarāchārya thrived in the Sēūna kingdom and his son and grandsons were the court-scholars in the days of Jaitugi I and Singhana<sup>II</sup>. Bhāskara's father Mahēśvara was known as Kaviśvara and he wrote two works on astrology, Śākhara and a commentary on Laghu-jāta. Bhāskara's works are many, noteworthy among them being Śiddhāntasirōmaṇi and Karnakutūhala. It is for the study of the former work mainly, that Chaṅgadēva founded a college at Pāṭan in 1200 A.D. Bhāskara rightly earned the title sarva-jña and he was known as the abode of learning (vidyāsada). Bhāskara's son Lakshmīdhara was the court-astrologer to Jaitugi I and Chaṅgadēva to Singhana II. No work, however, of either of the scholars has been discovered. Lakshmīdhara is described as Vēdārthavit and Tārkika-chakravartī. He was conversant with all the aspects of sacrificial rituals (kratukriyā-kāṇḍa-vichāra-sāra-visāradah). Jaitugi rightly judged him to be competent in all sāstras and appointed him as the court-scholar (sarva-sāstrārtha-dakshō-yam-iti matvā).<sup>22</sup>

Another scholar belonging to the same family <sup>became</sup> was also the chief astrologer in the court of Singhana. He was Anantaḍēva, the son of Gaṇapati, grandson of Śrīpati and great-grandson of Mahēśvara who was the son of Manōratha. This Mahēśvara is the same as the father of

Bhāskarāchārya mentioned above and therefore it follows that Śrīpati, the grandfather of Anantadēva was the brother of Bhāskarāchārya. Reference has been made above to Mahēśvara's works. His son Śrīpati is described as a scholar and Gaṇapati as the storehouse of knowledge. Credit is given to him as a great teacher dispelling the darkness of ignorance (ajñāna) of his disciples. Anantadēva was a master of the three branches of the <sup>Jy</sup> Ātīs-sāstra and he wrote a commentary on the 20th chapter called the Chhandaschity-uttar-ādhyāya of Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta of Brahmagupta. His other work was the exposition of Bṛhaj-jātaka of Varāhamihira. <sup>23</sup>

A significant contribution was made during the period of Siṅghana to the literature on music by Sārāṅgadēva who wrote Saṅgīta-ratnākara. The work exhibits the author's <sup>wide</sup> knowledge of music of both <sup>the</sup> northern and <sup>the</sup> southern schools.

Sūktimuktāvalī, a<sup>n</sup> anthology of verses was composed during the time of Kannara by Jalhana, who was a chief of the squadron of the elephants in the service of the Sēūna kings.

During the last days of Kannara, when he was jointly ruling with his brother, Mahādēva, Amalā<sup>kan</sup>nda-Sarasavati, a noted scholar<sup>of</sup> of Advaita, wrote Vēdānta-kalpataru, a commentary on Bhāmātī which is again a commentary on Śāṅkarabhāṣya.

By far the most famous author ~~in the latter half~~ of the Sēūna period was Hēmadri. He was holding the important office of the Keeper of Records (Śrī-kananādhīpa) during the reigns of Mahādēva and Rāma-

chandra. He is also styled as mantri (minister). Among his numerous works those on Dharma have been considered as authorities in the later days. His work Chaturvarga-chintāmani is a <sup>( )</sup> compendium of religious rites and practices. The work is divided into four parts, viz., Vratakhanda, dealing with the religious rites and observations, Dānakhanda, dealing with several types of grants and their importance, Tīrthakhanda, dealing with places of pilgrimage and Mōksha khanda being a discussion on realisation of the highest goal. A fifth part Parisēshakhanda<sup>is</sup> like an appendix to the work. It deals with dēvatā (deities to be worshipped), kāla (proper time for performing religious rites), karma (performance of śrāddha etc.) and Prāyaśchitta (atonement).<sup>24</sup> This volume exhibits the scholarship of Hēmādri in the field of Dharmasāstra. He profusely quotes from all the works on the subject.

In the later period this work came to be regarded as a standard work on the subject. Later authors largely draw upon this work. Works like Madanapārnīata, Dvaitanirviya and Nirṇayasindhu quote from him.<sup>25</sup>

Dharmasāstra is referred to as Hēmādrisāstra.<sup>25a</sup> A record of Bukka I of Vijayanagara<sup>(6)</sup> states that his son made many dānas in accordance with the works of Hēmādri.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, the Reddi kings Vēma and anavōta are stated to have performed vrata and dānas as enjoined by Hēmādri.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>khanda</sup>  
24 Kane doubts Hēmādri's authorship of this work (History of Dharmasāstra, Vol.I, p.355).

25 Ibid., p.359.      25a S.I.I, vol IX, pt. i, No. 42

26 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIV, pp.100 ff.

27 Sarma, History of the Reddi Kingdoms, pp.85 and 105.

To the students of Sēūpa history, Hēmādri is an indispensable author. In addition to being a voluminous author of the period, he provides us with valuable information about the history of the dynasty. Being in a responsible position in the Sēūpa administration in charge of records he had a very good knowledge of the contemporary history and he supplies it to us in his works. The introductory portion of his Vratakhanda gives a valuable account of the genealogy of the Sēūpa dynasty from the very origin. Though this account is not correct to the letter, it goes without saying that it is most valuable.

There are other works also ascribed to Hēmādri. One is a commentary on Pranavakalpa of Śaunaka. A work called Śrāddhakalpa is also attributed to him. Still another <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ a commentary on Vāghbhata's Ashtāṅgahṛīḍya. The work is called Ayurvēdarāsāyana. A junior contemporary of Hēmādri was Vōpadēva or Bōpadēva, who also was a noted author. His Harilīlā, a work on Bhāgavata is stated to have been written at the instance of Hēmādri. <sup>28</sup> A ~~xxxxx~~ commentary on this work, Vivēka by name, is ascribed to Hēmādri, but one of the manuscripts of this work mentions Madhusūdana-sarasvatī as the author. One other manuscript ascribes the work to Hēmādri and adds that Madhusūdana-sarasvatī read it through. Mugdhabōdha, a work on grammar, was also a work of Vōpadēva. His work Muktāphala, another work on Bhāgavata, has a commentary by Hēmādri in his Kaivalyadīpikā. Vōpadēva was the son of a physician named Kēsava and a resident of Sārtha on the bank of the river Varadā, which is modern Vardhā, in the Chanda District of Maharashtra. <sup>29</sup> Several works on medicine are also ascribed to Vōpadēva.

28 Kane, op.cit., p.358 and n.

29 Ibid., p. 358



### Inscriptional Literature:

besides

It is well known that inscriptions being sources of history, have also added to the literary wealth of the country. Though the purpose of these are to record historical incidents or grants made by generous donors, we find good many records couched in chaste and fluent language embellished with literary qualities. Some of them mention the names of the composers also. A few such inscriptions are noted here.

The Dēvalāli plates of Bhīllama III mention the author of these plates, but unfortunately, the name is not clear<sup>ly legible</sup>. The name reads somewhat like 'Taikatayya', the son of Vijayaiya. He is described as Kāyastha. Kāyasthas, we know, were professional writers. But Taikatayya was not just a writer or copyist but he also composed the record (sāsanam rachitam samyak)<sup>30</sup>. The composition however does not contain any poetical description. The record is just a formal one, containing the usual genealogy and the grant made by the king.

The text of the Kalas-Budruk plates, also of Bhīllama III, was composed by the learned (vidushā) Harichandra who was the son of Rudra <sup>31</sup>paṇḍita. This record also does not contain any poetical description.

<sup>32</sup>The Gabbūr inscription of Singhana II, written in Sanskrit, on two sides of a polished black-stone pillar, contains two beautiful stōtras of Śiva and Vishnu. After glorifying the greatness of the Agrahāra Gōpura, i.e., Gabbūr and the learned mahājanas of the place,

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30 A.R.I.E., 1957-58, No.A 12.

31 Ind.Ant., Vol.XVII, pp.120 ff.

32 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 671.

the poet refers to the installation of the deities Śiva and Kēśava after which these stotras are introduced 'as a blessing to the world' (jagad-āśīṣa). The stōtras which are unfortunately not well preserved are as follows;

The god Śiva is here called Rājēśvara and the poet describes Him thus:

Gaurī-rat-ōtsava-vidhan Madanēna bhāvyam  
 tatō=mr̥it-āmsur=alam=asya punar=bhavāya |  
 Evaṁ dhiyā śirasi chandrakalām didhīrshu-  
 s-tanmā . . . . bhavē jagad-ētaḍ=avyāt || 1 ||  
 Gaurī-ratē kalaha-saṁkalit-āntarāyē  
 mābhūn=mahāṇ prati-yuvaty=ati-saṁki dhīram |  
 Evaṁ dhiyā śirasi Jahnusutām bibhartti  
 tan=mōchanāya sa Śivas=tanutāt Sukham vah || 2 ||  
 Dr̥ṣṭ-karṇa-kamṭha-Kuharēshu bilē sayatvā-  
 d-āpīḍa-bhūṣhaṇa-mah=āhi[va]rā-vamantām ||  
 Evaṁ dhiyā śirasi yō nṛīkarōṭi-mālām  
 dhattē sadā vitaratād=varan=Indumauliḥ || 3 ||  
 Saṁbhūṣ=samas=sakala-vastushu tad=yad-ēka-  
 rūpau dr̥iṣō sasi-Ravi dahanas . . .  
 Evaṁ dhiyā jvalana-phāla-dr̥iṣam bibhartti  
 samyāya saṁhati-kṛitē cha sa vas=Śivō=vyāt || 4 ||  
 Kalapāvasāna-samayē jagatām virāma- |  
 sṛiṣṭir=mayaiva jagatām punar=āsubhāvyā ||  
 Evaṁ dhiyā bhasitam=āchṛita-kum . . yām  
 bibhran=nidānaparamāṇuvad=īśvarō=vyāt || 5 ||  
 Mūlām śad=Evam=atha tadguṇa-sakti-kārya-  
 bhēdāt tridhā Vidhi-Har=īśaṭtay=ēti mēyam ||

Ēvaṁ dhiy=ēti . . . . . s=tribhēda-  
mūlaṁ bibhartti sa Śivō bibhṛiyāj=jaganti || 6 ||  
Kāmaḥ purā jñalita ēva purāśarīraṁ  
Vairam ya ācharati taṁ tu kutō vijishyē ||  
Ēvaṁ dhiyā=rdha-yuvatī-sprihayā cha Gauryā  
Gaurīpatīsa bhavatām bhavatād=vibhūtyai || 7 ||  
Ēvaṁ kavīndra-rachitair=anavadya-padyaiḥ  
saṁstūyamāna-mahimō mahimāna-mūrtiḥ |  
Śrīmaṇ=prasannapada-pūrvaka-Rājanāthaḥ  
Śrī Gōpuraṁ sakala-vindunidhānam=avyāt || 8 ||

Then the poet proceeds to praise Kēsava thus:

Yō bhūbhāra-mahā-mahīruha-vana-prōṇmūlana-prakṣama-  
prōdyāt-tīkṣṇa-<sup>k</sup>ā<sup>a</sup>ṭhārkaś=surajana-dh<sup>r</sup>ōṇ=āṭavi-pāvakaḥ ||  
Yas=śārṇpāmbuda-jāla-kōmala-vapus=saṁsēvakānām tathā  
pūṁsām daivata-pādapaḥ pratidinam pāyāt sa vaḥ Kēsavaḥ  
|| 1 ||

Yasya śrīcharaṇāravindam=amalaiḥ=maṇḍāra-mālā-gaṇaiḥ  
=dēvair=Indra-purōgamair=munigaṇair=yakṣhō-gaṇaiḥ Kinnar-  
aiḥ ||  
Gandharv<sup>a</sup>aiḥ=sva-saṁhit-ārtha-nikara-prāpt<sup>a</sup>aiḥ sadā pūjitam  
yō Lakṣmīkucha-<sup>k</sup>u<sup>k</sup>māṅkita-vapus=<sup>s</sup>ō=vyā-jagat-Kēsavaḥ  
|| 2 ||

The above verses as also the prose passage describing the mahājanas testify to the poet's proficiency in Sanskrit language and his capacity to express ~~the~~ ideas in a beautiful way.

33

An inscription of Siṅghana from Kundgōl in Dharwar District

contains a description of that place and the verses are stated to be <sup>the</sup> composition of Vaijanātha (Vaijanātha-kṛitih). The description is, of course, conventional. Nevertheless, the composition does exhibit <sup>several</sup> qualities of good poetry. No details are available about the author. Another inscription of Sīnghana from Sorab taluk<sup>34</sup> in Shimoga District, mentions Tribhuvanavidyā-chakravarti Vaijanātha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya and the title shows that he was a learned person. But the evidence is too insufficient to identify him with the author of the Kundgol prasasti, though the names are similar.

This is the poet's idea of Kundangōḷa (Kundgōḷ):

Asti Kṣhōṇīvilāsa-śrutitāti-vasatis-Śrī-vadhūlāsyā-bhūmih |  
 Śrīmat-Kundangōḷākhyō Daśamukha-vijayē Rāma-datt-āgrahārah ||  
 yatr-ājasr-ādhar-ālī niyamitavilasan-mantra-pūt-āhutinām |  
 sārals-saṁprāpta-śaktis-tribhuvanam-abhayam pāti dēvō=pi  
 Śakraḥ || 1 ||

Mā bhair-mā bhair-dēhi dēhi prapannān |  
 Trāhi trāhi=tyādi-<sup>V</sup>ēdaprasaṅgē  
 Shaṭ-terkāṇām vāda-madhye=pi yasmin  
 kīrā vīthī-panjarasthā paṭhanti || 2 ||  
 Yatra trāsaḥ kumau chhatra-daṇḍaḥ samāgatā padmē |  
 rōdhō nadyām bandhaḥ kāvyō 'sukam 'srutau navālōke || 3 ||

The goddess Durgā of that place:

Tasya Kundangulābhikhyā-kāriṇī sarvamaṅgalā |  
 Babhūva Durgā trailōkya-rakshārtham sura-nirmitā ||

A certain Mallasarma made a grant for the worship of this goddess:

Yasmin=ivāsalōbhāt=svayam=ajani Śivaḥ sā=pi Durgā prasiddhā |  
 Yasyā Śrīkārya-siddhyai vitata-guṇa-gaṇō Mallasarmā=ti-  
 bhaktyā ||

Prādāt-kundangulē sadvijamata-sahitō nāngulī-prēkshanīyam  
 Shaṭkaṁ naivartanaṁ tad-vitata-phala-yutam kshētramadye  
 svakīyē ||

Mādhava was another poet of Siṅghaṇa's period. He is mentioned as the author of one of the inscriptions found at Ambe. <sup>35</sup> Two other records from the same place contain many verses found in this inscription. It is apparent therefore that Mādhava was the author of these also. He belonged to the family (vamśa) of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa. Dhanēśvara was his father. It is interesting to note that Mādhava, a poet (kavi-vara) was also a physician (sad-vaīdya; bhishag-agra-nīh)

The poet rightly states that his composition (prāsasti) abounds in description of the heroic deeds of the king Siṅghaṇa. ~~It~~ <sup>he</sup> It seems, was a protege of Khōlēśvara, the general of Siṅghaṇa. His object was to compose the prāsasti of Khōlēśvara. The following two verses depict the mother of Khōlēśvara and his grandfather on his mother's side:

Dviṇa-kumuda-sudhāmsur-yāchatām kalpavṛikshō  
 Vimala-bahula-nītir-dhīmatām-agraganyah  
 arī-karigaṇa-simhō Vāsudēvatmajō-Bhū |  
 t-sakala-guṇanidhānam Nimbādēv-abhidhānah ||  
 Tasmād-rūpavatī satī śasīkalā lāvanyamudrāspadam |  
 Chandrākhyā pratibaddha-pāṇkaja-drīśam-agrēsarā-bhūd-bhuvi ||  
 Sāvitṛī kim-ahō pativrata-ratā kim-vā-thav-ārundhatī=  
 ty-ēvaṁ yā sucharitra-vāraṇa-vidhau khyātīm samabhyāgatā ||

Vāgdēvatābhaṭṭa was another poet, who composed one other inscription of 36  
 of Siṅghana found at Ambe itself. This poet bore the title  
Kavirāja. He speaks of Khōlēśvara thus:

Lakshmīvān=bahusatvavān=atha mahā-gāmbhīryavān=ūrmimā-  
 2 n=kiṁ varṇyō vyūta-dhāma Mudgala munēḥ sambhāva-ratnākaraḥ ||  
 Viśvōdyōtakṛid=ēkam=adbhutatarām jyōtir-jagan-mangalam  
 3 Sanmānikyam=abhūt-Trivikrama-sutō yatr=aisha Khōlēśvaraḥ ||  
 Esha 'srī-yamadāṇḍa ēsha 'saraṇ-trāṇ-aika dīkshāgurū  
 rāja-sthāpanakārya-kausālavīdhāv=āchārya ēva svayam ||  
 Esha dvēshi-vanēshu dāva-dahanah 'srī Siṃhamēdhaprabhum  
 nīschintam vyadadhād=amushya sadṛśaḥ kō=nyō bhavad-bhūtalē ||

His son Rāma:

Saubhāgyam tasya kim brūmō Rāmasyādbhuta-rūpinah |  
 Kulanārī=ve Vīrasrī=vyatr-aikatra ratim dadhē ||

He was ~~he~~ slain in the battle but his fame rose still high:

Rāma-vīrayasōnīrā surasrīmukha-paṅkājā |  
 tataḥ kṣheṇād=abhūd=vyōma-sarasī hamsasālinī ||

He was indeed beyond description:

4 | kim Bhīsmah kumu Karṇa ēsha kim=ayam Drōṇō=thavā bhārgavō  
 vīrō=sāyīti tarkitādbhate-balō Rāmas=sa kim varṇyatē ||  
 Praudhas=tyāge sa Rāmō naya-vinaya-vidām=agra-gaṇyas=sa Rāmō  
 Śauryasvāmī sa Rāmō Harapada-kamala-dhvēna-dhīras=sa Rāmaḥ |  
 Laṅkādhīśas=sa Rāmaḥ kavirucha-vachasām stutya ēkaḥ sa Rāma-  
 s=tatvajñēnī sa Rāmaḥ nija-kula-sarasī-rāja-hamsaḥ sa Rāmaḥ ||

These are just a few verses from this beautiful inscription through-  
 out which the poet has exhibited fine poetic qualities.

37

Still another record of Singhana brings to light a poet, Sūryanārasimha, who was the son of Mādhavārya. But the record does not contain any verses worth noting. The poet is called Vēdārtha-vādin.

38

The Bēhaṭṭi plates of Kannara contain the composition of Vaijārya. We have noted above a poet by name Vaijanātha who was the author of the Kundgōl inscription of Singhana. But since there is no other clue except the resemblance of the names, it is difficult to identify the two.

The record contains the eulogy of Kannara as well as his subordinate Chaundā, and the description of the agrahāra Kukkanūr. This is how the poet speaks of the latter place:

Hitvā Kailāsa-sailam samudita-Sivayā Kshētra-pālēna sākam  
Ek-ōpy-ekādasātmā śasidhara-makuṭō bhāti Śaambhuḥ Svayambhuḥ |  
Yad-grāma-<sup>ja</sup>vāsalōbhād-akhila-suravara-śrēṇi-samstūyamānaḥ  
Sō-yaṁ śrī-Kukkanūr-jur-jayati vasumatī-raṇṇō yō-grahāraḥ ||

Another inscriptional poet of Kannara's period was Māyidēva (spelt as Mhāyidēva). He wrote the inscription in the Tasgaon plates. <sup>39</sup> Māyidēva was a protégé of Chandra and Kēsava, the two brothers who were the generals of Kannara. The poet claims to have known six languages and calls himself sāradā-darpana. Here he describes the <sup>heredity</sup> ~~family~~ and <sup>proweess</sup> ~~valour~~ of the two brothers.

The poet invokes Śiva and Viṣṇu for the protection of the world:

37 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXXIV, pp.32 ff.

38 J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, pp. 42 ff

39 Ep.Ind., Vol.XXVII, pp.206 ff.

Aisvaryaṁ sthira<sup>ś</sup>yaṁ sukhaṁ vika<sup>ś</sup>sayaṁ chhakti<sup>ś</sup>-trayaṁ varda<sup>ś</sup>ya-  
na<sup>ś</sup>-vijñānaṁ gha<sup>ś</sup>na<sup>ś</sup>yaṁ vi<sup>ś</sup>vēka<sup>ś</sup>-pa<sup>ś</sup>da<sup>ś</sup>vi<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ut<sup>ś</sup>tāla<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ut<sup>ś</sup>tamba<sup>ś</sup>ha<sup>ś</sup>yaṁ |  
na<sup>ś</sup>-pāpā<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>ṁ dha<sup>ś</sup>kabhē<sup>ś</sup>da<sup>ś</sup>na<sup>ś</sup>ṁ tri<sup>ś</sup>jagatī<sup>ś</sup>ṁ Śrī Chandra<sup>ś</sup>-chū<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>ma<sup>ś</sup>ṇi<sup>ś</sup>ḥ ||  
Śrī<sup>ś</sup>bhar<sup>ś</sup>tuḥ kō<sup>ś</sup>la<sup>ś</sup>ṁ <sup>u</sup>rtē<sup>ś</sup>ḥ ku<sup>ś</sup>li<sup>ś</sup>sa<sup>ś</sup>-sa<sup>ś</sup>ma<sup>ś</sup>dhi<sup>ś</sup>k-ō<sup>ś</sup>da<sup>ś</sup>gra<sup>ś</sup>-da<sup>ś</sup>ś<sup>ś</sup>ṭā<sup>ś</sup>gra<sup>ś</sup>jā<sup>ś</sup>grid  
gar<sup>ś</sup>va<sup>ś</sup>-pra<sup>ś</sup>dha<sup>ś</sup>sta<sup>ś</sup>-da<sup>ś</sup>itya<sup>ś</sup>-pra<sup>ś</sup>ka<sup>ś</sup>ṭi<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>-va<sup>ś</sup>sudh<sup>ś</sup>-ō<sup>ś</sup>ddhā<sup>ś</sup>ra<sup>ś</sup>vi<sup>ś</sup>ryō-  
ddhura<sup>ś</sup>sa<sup>ś</sup>ya |  
pa<sup>ś</sup>ṁtu tra<sup>ś</sup>ilō<sup>ś</sup>kya<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ud<sup>ś</sup>ya<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>-vi<sup>ś</sup>budha<sup>ś</sup>-ja<sup>ś</sup>ya<sup>ś</sup>ja<sup>ś</sup>yā<sup>ś</sup>dha<sup>ś</sup>vā<sup>ś</sup>ṇa<sup>ś</sup>-phū<sup>ś</sup>tkā<sup>ś</sup>ra<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ita<sup>ś</sup>ṁta<sup>ś</sup>ḥ  
krō<sup>ś</sup>dha<sup>ś</sup>ḍma<sup>ś</sup>tasya ga<sup>ś</sup>rja<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>-ghu<sup>ś</sup>ru<sup>ś</sup>-ghu<sup>ś</sup>ru<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>-ghū<sup>ś</sup>rutkā<sup>ś</sup>ra<sup>ś</sup>va<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>-ghū<sup>ś</sup>ritā<sup>ś</sup>ni ||

The cordial relationship between the two brothers, Chandra and Kēśava,  
has been beautifully described thus:

yat-sa<sup>ś</sup>ubhra<sup>ś</sup>trā<sup>ś</sup>ma<sup>ś</sup>ṁ a<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ṁdra<sup>ś</sup>-mu<sup>ś</sup>dra<sup>ś</sup>ṁ a<sup>ś</sup>ni<sup>ś</sup>sa<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ki<sup>ś</sup>ṁ dvā<sup>ś</sup>-sa<sup>ś</sup>pa<sup>ś</sup>ra<sup>ś</sup>ṇā<sup>ś</sup>vā<sup>ś</sup>iti  
Śru<sup>ś</sup>tyā<sup>ś</sup> ya<sup>ś</sup>d-ga<sup>ś</sup>ḍi<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ta<sup>ś</sup>d-ē<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>-akhi<sup>ś</sup>la<sup>ś</sup>ṁ pra<sup>ś</sup>tya<sup>ś</sup>ksha<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ā<sup>ś</sup>ga<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ||  
ki<sup>ś</sup>ṁ vā<sup>ś</sup> sa<sup>ś</sup>ṁpra<sup>ś</sup>ti<sup>ś</sup> Rā<sup>ś</sup>ma<sup>ś</sup>-Kṛi<sup>ś</sup>ṣṇa<sup>ś</sup>cha<sup>ś</sup>ri<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ṁ jī<sup>ś</sup>rṇa<sup>ś</sup>ṁ na<sup>ś</sup>vi<sup>ś</sup>na<sup>ś</sup>ṁ kṛi<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ṁ  
yat-prī<sup>ś</sup>ti<sup>ś</sup>-pra<sup>ś</sup>ṇa<sup>ś</sup>ya<sup>ś</sup>-pra<sup>ś</sup>sā<sup>ś</sup>ḍa<sup>ś</sup>-cha<sup>ś</sup>ri<sup>ś</sup>ta<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ta<sup>ś</sup>t-ki<sup>ś</sup>ṁ gi<sup>ś</sup>ra<sup>ś</sup>ṁ gō<sup>ś</sup>cha<sup>ś</sup>ra<sup>ś</sup>ṁ ||

The epigraph also contains beautiful verses, describing the valour  
of the two brothers, their generosity and the high pinacles of the  
temple of Kalidēva that they built.

The Paithan plates of Rāmachandra mention one pa<sup>ś</sup>ṇḍita<sup>ś</sup> Dha<sup>ś</sup>ṇa<sup>ś</sup>-  
śvara<sup>ś</sup>. It is stated that he wrote the record (likita<sup>ś</sup>).<sup>40</sup> But his  
title pa<sup>ś</sup>ṇḍita<sup>ś</sup> shows that he was a learned man and it is not unlikely  
that he himself composed the epigraph. However, there is nothing  
worth noting in the composition.

Kannada:

The period of 12th and 13th centuries was a bright period for  
Kannada literature. New forms of literature such as yachanas and



Ragalles appeared in this period. With the advent of the Vīrasaiva sect originated the vachana literature, Basavēśvara, who was responsible for the growth of this new sect and his numerous followers produced a mass of this type of literature which in <sup>point of</sup> form is ~~as though~~ a mid way between prose and poetry. And it is rightly said that in the vachanas there may not be the flow of prose, but there is the simplicity of it. It may not have the metrical arrangement of poetry but there is its laya. Ragale, ~~which resembles~~ <sup>which resembles</sup> of blank verse was made for the first time a <sup>hi</sup> vehicle of full length kāvyas in this period. Harihara, a native of Hampe, achieved great competence in this type of composition. Shatpadi, another purely Kannada metre, came to be employed in this period only. Pāghavāṅka was the first to use this metre in his kāvyas. Great poets like Harihara, Pāghavāṅka, Nēmichandra, Rudrabhaṭṭa, Palkuriki Sōmanātha, Janna, Aṇḍayya Kāmalabhava and many others lived in this period. It is, however, to be noted that most of these poets were either patronised by the Hoysala kings or <sup>lived</sup> ~~were~~ in the Hoysala country.

In comparison with the output of ~~the~~ Kannada literature in the <sup>Hoysala</sup> ~~Hoysala~~ country that in the Sēūna country <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ meagre. Commenting on this situation Altekar stated<sup>5</sup> that 'the Yādavas themselves spoke Marāṭhi and their capital city was at Dēvagiri which was in the heart of Mahārāshṭra'<sup>41</sup> and hinted<sup>4</sup> thereby that the Sēūna kings did not patronise ~~the~~ Kannada literature. But this does not appear to be the case. It is shown above that the Sēūnas belonged to the Kannada stock and for political reasons they went and settled in the northern part of the Deccan which forms ~~the~~ part of Maharashtra. If Maharashtra

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41 Yazdani, op.cit., p.571.

became part of their kingdom, it is also to be conceded that a good portion of the present Kannada speaking area also formed part of their kingdom. Moreover, numerous Kannada inscriptions found in their territory many of which are written in good literary style go to show that Kannada literature did flourish in the Sēūna kingdom. Besides we find that a number of literary works were produced in Kannada in the Sēūna country also. The following are deserve mention.

Darsanasāra, a Kannada poem, is reported to be a work written during the time of Siṅghana. The author of this work is not known.<sup>42</sup> Śāntēśvara-purāṇa, a Jaina kāvya, was also written during the period of the same king. In the course of giving the pedigree of the Jaina teachers, the poet Kamalabhava describes a Jaina ascetic Vinayēndravratī as being respected by Siṅghana, who must be the Sēūna Siṅghana.<sup>43</sup> The work is the biography of Śāntinātha, the 16th tīrthaṅkara.

Chauṇḍarasa, the author of Abhinava-Daśakumāracharita, lived in the Sēūna country, probably in Paṇḍarpur. A reference to Siṅghana

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42 Bodas: Tarkasaṅgraha, Intd. pp.40-41.

43 R. Narasimhachar, Karnāṭaka Kavicharite, Vol.I, p.292.

in his work shows that he was the contemporary of Siṅghana II. He was a great devotee of god Viṭṭhala of Pandharapur. The work is a translation in champu style of Dasakumāracharita of Daṇḍi. It is interesting to note that even in this work, the poet creates an opportunity for himself to praise god Viṭṭhala.<sup>44</sup>

Āchanna, who is the author of Pārśvanātha purāṇa, seems to have belonged to the Sēūṇa country. He was a native <sup>of</sup> Puligere i.e., Lakshmē-svara in Dharwar District. During the period when he wrote the work, i.e. in the 1st quarter of the 13th century A.D. Puligere was included in the Sēūṇa kingdom.<sup>45</sup>

#### Inscriptional Literature:

Like the Sanskrit records dealt with above, a number of Kannada epigraphs also stand as good <sup>examples</sup> ~~pieces~~ of poetry and some of them reveal the names of the authors also. The following are some such:

Bedagina Sōma seems to have been a noted poet during the reign of Bhīllama V and his son Jaitugi I. A record of the former<sup>46</sup> mentions a grant made to Bedagina Sōmanātha who 'told' (pēḷḷa) the epigraph (i.e., composed the text of the epigraph). Jaitugi's Sālōṭgi inscription also<sup>47</sup> was composed by him. Herein he boasts of his poetry, saying 'who do not appreciate (poetry) when the famous Bedagina Sōma composes it with poetic embellishments?' (khyātaṁ Bedagina Sōmaṁ sātīśavōktiyoḷe pēḷḷa-ene mechchadar-āru).

Bhīllama's record which comes from Hirē Bēvinūr in Indi taluk

44 R.S. Mugali: Kannada Sāhitya Charitra, Ibid., pp.217 ff.

45 Ibid., p.196.

46 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.36.

47 Now in Bijapur Museum; Ibid., 1933-34, B.K. No.157.

of Bijapur District contains the description of Bēvinūr, the minister Māyidēva and the latter's subordinate Boppana-chamūpa. The following are a few of the verses in the record.

This is how the poet describes Māyidēva:

Visaruṇadiṁ koḷam nīsi Nīsādhīpaniṁ Dinanāthanindavā-  
gasavāmarēndranīṁ divija-santati kēvaṇadīndē māṇikam |  
Vasumatiyalli sōbhisuvavōl=nere Yādavarājya-lakshmi sō-  
bhisuvudu Māyidēva-rathinīśvaranīndenāl=ēna baṇṇipem ||

Māyidēva's subordinate Boppana was an ornament to the country:

Surapatīyīrda dēvasabhe paṁkajavīrda sarōja-shaṇḍavā-  
surataruvīrda nandanavanam Hariyidd=amṛit-ābhdhiyoppuvam-  
tire nṛipamēru Bhīllaman=amātya-sikhāmaṇi Māyidēvanā-  
darisuva mantri Boppana-chamūpatiyīrdd=ēde yīntid=oppugum ||

Tardavāḍi division was in Kuntala and Mūvattārumbāḍa was a part of the former. Bēvinūr was the headquarters of Mūvattārumbāḍa. Following is the poet's picture of Bēvinūr.

Palavum vēdada śāstrad=āgaṇḍa vidyābhyāsi-viprarkkḷim-  
d=alīyīm Kōgileyīm śuka-pratatiyīm prauḍh-ēkshu-damḍaṅgalim-  
d=alard=ambhōruṇḍha-shaṇḍadiṁ palavum=udyānaṅgalim śishya-sam-  
kūḷadiṁ do=ppuva Bēvinūrge dorey<sup>e</sup> Bhūlōkadaḷ=ppaṭṭaṇam ||

Boppana's wife Siridēvi was virtue incarnate:

Girirāj-ātmaje śailajāte Siri nīrmānasye Vākkānte bi-  
ttaradīnd=eyde Pitāmahaṅge vadhuṇvādaḷ-Gaṅgeyam Jahnuvā-  
daradīndīntīye jānuvīm tegedanendēnd=ēnavar=pāṭi yī  
dhareyol=kēḷ Siridēviyarkke niḷḷag=ār śādrīsyavēnd=ēmbenō ||

The Sālōṭṭgi inscription also of the same poet contains some good

verses. Kiriyaṇḍi (i.e., modern Inḍi) has been associated with Bhagīratha:

Haranaṁ Bhagīrathaṁ  
Bittaradiṁ mechchisi baḷika Sagarana mēgā |  
Suranadiyaṁ tarpamā |  
Kiriyaṇḍige baṁdudāṁdu Kaḍalāti-mudadiṁ ||

This place was an abode of all religions:

Hara-grīhadiṁ Hari-grīhadiṁ  
Suragrihadiṁ=Arūha-grāhadi Bauddhālayadiṁ |  
goṣṭhāva Savaṇara Bauddhava  
neravigaḷiṁ=Inḍināḍu sogayisi tōrkkuṁ ||

Rightly therefore god Śiva chose it for his abode:

Aruvattentum tīrtthada  
Kiriyaṇḍiye lēs=enutt=olaviṁdāṁ |  
paṇṇayaṁ sūḍida dēvaṁ  
Karekaṇṭhaṁ nelasi Baṁkināthaṁ niṁdāṁ ||

Ammidēva claims to be the author of the Puḷunḍ inscription of Singhaṇa, dated 1200 A.D.<sup>48</sup> The record begins <sup>in</sup> with Sanskrit but a good part of it is in Kannaḍa. The record, however, has no literary merit. It ~~also~~ contains an eulogy of the poet who appears from the description to have been a Vīraśaiva saint. As remarked in an earlier context, it is not unlikely that he is the same as Ammugidē-<sup>49</sup>vayya, who is <sup>believed</sup> ~~thought~~ to have been the author of some vachanas.

48 S.M.H.D., Vol.II, pp.56 ff.

49 Above, Chapter X, p.372.

50

An inscription at Mankani, dated in 1206 A.D. was composed by Vamana, who calls his works as Śāṣana-kādambari. The record is very big in <sup>size</sup> ~~content~~ but unfortunately it is very much damaged. It contains good many <sup>interesting</sup> ~~beautiful~~ verses all of which however cannot be ~~successfully~~ deciphered. One of them is given below:

Mankani probably had another name Mārkaṇḍēyapura:  
Puramadhyadalli Lakshmi-  
Narasīṅgaṃ nelasi nīḍanane pēṃpigaṃ  
puradolpīṅgāva puram  
sari Mārkaṇḍēyapurakke dharanī-taḷadol ||

51

One of the inscriptions from Lakshmeśvar<sup>51</sup> belonging to Siṅghana contains a statement at the end thus: Śrīmad-Rudra-bhaṭṭō-pādhyāya-sūnunaḥ likhitaṃ, i.e., the record was written by the son of Rudrabhaṭṭa. It is not certain if he was the composer of the grant. But it is not impossible that he was the author, for likhita is sometimes used in the sense of 'composed'. The epigraph is damaged, thus making it difficult to read the verses in full.

52

Dēva was the author of another inscription of Siṅghana, which runs into hundred and two lines. The poet here calls himself Kannada sarasati. The boast is ~~indeed~~ not a vain one for the record exhibits the talents of the poet in many verses composed by him. Following is a verse from the record.

Bīchana's valour:

50 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, B.K. No.264.

51 A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K. No. 25.

52 Ibid., 1936-37, B.K. No.53.

Negaḷḍuḡr-āhita-rāyaraṁ<sup>k</sup> Kadanadoḷ beṁkoṇḍu saptaṅgamaṁ  
baged-ōrantire taṁdu koṭṭu patig-ēkāḍriṣṭitam māḍḍaṁ- |  
digallī<sup>k</sup> Kāṁteya Siṅghapaṁ sobaganōrvaṁ gaṇḍaniṁtoṁde sa-  
ttige voṁdāṇa enalke Chikkana tānūjaṁ Bīchadaṁḍādhīpaṁ ||

This composition which is <sup>in</sup> a <sup>style</sup> ~~champi~~ has pleasing prose passages also.

Huḍugeya Sōmayya was the author of the Tilivalḷi inscription  
of 1237 A.D.<sup>53</sup> The poet says that it was out of devotion to Śiva  
that he composed this epigraph:

Mṛḍanaṁdu bhaktiyiṁdaṁ  
Huḍugeya Sōmayyaṁ-ōppuvī Kannaḍadiṁ |  
gaḍaṇisi pēḷdaṁ kṛitīyaṁ  
poḍaviyoḷ-ṁesedirke chaṁdratār-aṁbaregaṁ ||

This composition is also pretty long in fact longer than  
the one of Dēva, above. The record runs into hundred and twenty-  
seven lines and contains, apart from the prose passages, sixty  
verses of which some are in Sanskrit. A few may be noted here:

Siṅghaṇa's valour:

<sup>ru</sup>Surtvā nissāṇa-pūta-dhvanim-ari-yuvatī-garbhapātā bahūvu-  
r-Vaṅgā nis-saṅgamārgaṁ yataya iva gatā bhaṅgaṁ-āṅgāḥ kaḷiṅgāḥ |  
Nēpālāḥ prāpṭr-āpad-gata iva vipinaṁ Chēra-Chōlēśa-Pāṇḍyāḥ  
kaṁtiṣṭhāt<sup>e</sup> yuddha-kāṁkṣhī rapabhuvī purataṁtē ripuḥ Siṁha-  
bhūpa ||

Nāgarakhaṇḍa was a district in Kuntala. It was a place of  
abundance:

Nānā-dhānya-phalōpabhōga-subhagam pūgi-vanāḷamkṛitam  
<sup>rth</sup>  
 mānātiṭṭa-taṭṭaka-saṅkūḷa milat-kūlyā samṛiddhākaram |  
 bhūnārī-kucha-bhūṣaṇam madhukarōddānāḍhya-vanyāmṛitam  
 pīnam Nāgarakhaṇḍa dēśam=esegum viśvaṁbhārā-bhāgaḍol ||

Like the work of Dēva, this one of Sōmayya is also a champū.

54

The Nīlūru inscription of Siṅghana dated in 1215 A.D. was written by Sēnabōva Bācharasa. The record specifically states that the 'sāsana-padya was composed (hēḷdu) by him. Unfortunately indeed, the few verses that were there in the beginning of the record are lost, the record being damaged.

55

Gōpirāja was the author of an inscription of Mahādēva. He claims to belong to the Hārīta-gōtra and states that he was a devotee of Sadāsīva. He describes Ingālēsvara as the southern Kāśī.

Karam=esedippa Taddavaḍi-sāsiraḍ=ādi-baṇanjuvaṭṭanam  
 Sirige nivāsa dēsiya tavarmmane dakṣhiṇa-<sup>v</sup>ṛāṇāsi saum-  
 darasirīsailla-sāsanaḡriham negaḷḍ-uttamaḍ-agrahāra sē-  
 khara-samayakke sōbhīpa sikhāmani [mōdi]suv=Ingālēsvaraṁ ||

56

Isvarārya composed an epigraph of Rāmachandra found at Bhānu-  
 valli in Davangere taluk in Chitradurg District. The poet praises Rāmachandra in these words:

Kāmaṁ khyātaṁ chelviṁ  
 Bhīmaṁ bhujabaladin=amṛita-tanuvim Sōmaṁ |  
 Kāmaṁ Bhīmaṁ Sōmaṁ  
 Rāmamahīpatiya tad-guṇaṁgaḷin=enipam ||

54 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.365.

55 A.R.S.I.E., 1930-31, B.K. No.7.

56 Ep.Carn., Vol.XI, Dg.70.



The alliteration in the following verse is really amusing:

Gahagahanada bahu-mahimeya-  
n=ahamahamikeyim̐d=ahim̐drajihvegaloḷagā |  
gahahanisaleyduvēm̐dāḍe  
gahagahisiye nagisi koḷvar=enisidaḍ=anyar ||

In addition to these records, where the authors have been mentioned, there are good many others which though <sup>they</sup> do not mention their authors contain good ~~poetry~~ poetry. Mention may be made in this connection of epigraphs like those from Raṭṭihallī and Haralhallī inscriptions of Siṅghana and the Harihar inscription of Rāmachandra.

The Sēūṇa records add to the vachana literature, which ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> a prominent branch of Kannada literature. The zealous Vīraśaiva saints headed by Basavēśvara composed sayings, to express their religious and philosophical thoughts in simple and direct language, so as to be easily followed by the masses. During the latter half of the 12th century and onwards there was considerable growth of this branch of literature and among others Siddharāma of Sonnalige or Sholapur also contributed to it. The Sēūṇa inscriptions record two such vachanas ascribed to him, <sup>which</sup> ~~but~~ however <sup>are</sup> not found in the collection of vachanas supposed to have been written by him.

Records of all the Sēūṇa kings from Bhīllama V onwards contain <sup>57</sup> these vachanas as a preamble to the grants described therein and one of the epigraphs of Kannara contains a Sanskrit version of them.

57 Generally only the first of these vachanas is found in the record.

Both the versions are given below:

Kannada Version:

1) Jaya Paramēśvara paramātma īśvaran=urvī-parvi-yaḍaṅgi-  
koṇḍippanu vōrbannigeyāgi yōgigaḷa manada koneya jyōtīs-  
varanum Vṛishabhana rūpāgi yajamānanum āchāryanum tāneyāgi  
yōgādi-sampanna baḷeyamgaḷe-llavam sampādisi yōga-ramaṇiya  
Kshētravane sthaḷaviṭṭu Salākheviḍidu Abhinava śrīśailav-  
ane māḍi Kapilasiddha Mallikārjunadēvane nelasi nimdu punya-  
pāpamgaḷam bar<sup>a</sup>-pēldu besam pēluttaviral=ēm basa Dēva enalu  
yī sthānadalu mānyavāgi ūrugalaṁ bhūmigaḷam dhanamagaḷam ī  
Līṅakke hastōdakavam māḍi koṭṭuduvum manam pēsade Kaḷa-  
dukoṇḍapeneṁbātana mātā-pitṛigaḷellām oppattēlu kōṭi-  
varusham-baram puḷugoṇḍada naraka<sup>a</sup>ḷag=ikki nīn=āhutigoḷut-  
tīru koṇḍā ele pāpavē || Ī Dēvana bhūmi-dhanakk=ān=anj-  
uven=ēndu paṁdeyam pāv=aḍardante manam bedari poḍavaṭṭanam  
bēga śīghram koṇḍu bā kaṇḍā ele punyavē Kailāsakke ||  
Interaḍara beṁge punya-pāpamgaḷum pārdu koṇḍoyuudu tappadu  
diṭa-ditam satyam-gaṇḍirē || Embudu-guru Siddharāmanātha-  
dēvara vachana ||

2) Irulūṁ pagalūṁ pariva koḷḷi-Kaḷḷan=ādoḍam manneya-  
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran=ādaḍam dhareyan-āḷva chakravarti-  
yādaḍam śrīmanumahā-mahima Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēvara  
kshētrada chatur-āśrayada nāḷkum deseya valayadolage  
voḷage horagippa dhanakke arasugaḷoḷagaku-koḷḷi-Kaḷḷaroḷa-  
kku manam pēsade kaḷadukoṇḍan=ēmbātana mātā-pitri<sup>58</sup>

The rest of the vachana is the same as the one found in the previous one.

Sanskrit Version of No.1:

Om Jaya paramēśvaraḥ Paramātm-ēśvaraḥ saharshasōtsavaḥ  
susūkshma ēkavarṇyō bhūtvā yōginām manasāgrē yō vīśvajushō  
vṛishēśvara. yajamānasy-āchāryasya svayam-ēva bhūtvā yōgādi-  
kārajñānam sarvaṁ saṁdhāya yōga-rampīya-kshētram susthiram  
sthāpayitvā salākām grīhītvā navya-Śrīśailam kṛitvā Kapila-  
siddha Mallikērjuna ēva sthira<sup>ā</sup>ṭayam sthitvā puṇya-pāpē  
samāhuya samādīśati | Te ūchur-bhō Dēva kim kartavyam-iti |  
Evam-uktē asminbhuñjānē sarvva<sup>ā</sup>mānyam kṛitvā dēśa-grāmān-  
bhūmi-dhanam ch-āsmāi Līngāya hastōdakam kṛitvā dattāni  
manasi jugupsām vihāya grīhnāmi<sup>ti</sup> bruvānam tasya mātaram  
mātā-pitaram pitri-jātam sarvaṁ sapta-saptati-kēṭi-varsha-  
paryamtam kṛimi-kunḍa-madhyē prakshipya .....tishṭha rē  
pāpa | Asya Dēvasya bhū-dhanēbhyah bibhēmy-aham sarpavē-  
shṭita iva manasi chakichakitam vēgāmtam .... aihika-bhōgam-  
abhilashitam datvā dīrghāyusham kṛitvā gachchha rē puṇya  
Kailāsam || Iti ..... puṇya pāpē prēkshyamānē tau dwavau  
tuthyam tathyam satyam . . . . .

The text of the above vachanas clearly shows that they were specially composed for bringing home to the people the evil effects of transgressing the grant made to a god and the sweet fruits of abiding by it. Thus we find these vachanas in the epigraphs recording grants only.

59 A.R.S.I.E., 1937-38, B.K.No.79. Few words in the last sentence of the vachana are lost.

Marāṭhī:

~~Very important indeed is~~ The Sēūna period <sup>forms an important epoch in</sup> the history of Marāṭhī literature. Though, of course, the beginning of Marāṭhī language is traced back to a much earlier period the earliest works so far known came to be written in this period only.

The earliest extant work in this language is the Vivēkasindhu of Mukundarāja. This work is stated to have been written in 1188 A.D. <sup>60</sup> when <sup>the</sup> Sēūna rule was yet in its infancy. The poet mentions Śāraṅgadhara as the ruling king. It is indeed difficult to identify him. The author further mentions Jayantapāla, the son of Ballāla who <sup>61</sup> in turn was the son of Narasimha as his patrons. On the basis of the date mentioned in the work it may be suggested that the latter two were Hoysala Narasimha and his son Ballāla II. It is, however, not known from any other source if this Ballāla had a son named Jayanta. It has generally been believed that Śāraṅgadhara mentioned by <sup>62</sup> Mukundarāja was a feudatory of Bhillama. Jayanta, it is <sup>63</sup> opined, was an unidentifiable king of Jogai. From the reference of Mukundarāja to Narasimha and Ballāla, it appears that when he wrote his work, the Hoysalas were holding their sway over parts of the northern Deccan. It is not unlikely that they were his patrons. There is no

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60 Śaka akarē dahōttaru Sādhārana-samvatsaru-Rāja Śāraṅgadhara rājyakam. It is however to be noted that according to scholars, the language of the work in the present form cannot be ascribed to an early period, but to a period later than of Jnānēsvari (K.P.Kulkarni: Marathī Bhāṣhā, Udgam va vikās).

61 Nrisimha Ballāla | Tēyachā Kumaru Jayantapāla | Tēṇēm para-vilē sādārōḷe | grānthā-rachanēchā |

62 K.P. Kulkarni, op.cit., p.194.

63 Yazdani, (Ed.), op.cit., Vol.II, p.571.

definite evidence to show that the Sēūna king was the patron of this author. Vivēkasindhu is a treatise on Advaita philosophy.

The saints of the Mahānubhāva school to whom a reference has been made in the previous chapter, contributed much to the growth of Marāṭhī language and literature. It has been traditionally believed<sup>64</sup> that the Mahānubhāvi literature comprises (of) one thousand volumes. Though this statement is ~~indeed~~ not free from exaggeration, it is nevertheless certain that the literature of this school which is mostly religious, is considerably profuse.

The originator of this school was Chakradhara. He is stated to have been a Gujarāṭī Brāhmaṇa named Haripāla. He went to Riddhipura where he was initiated into the ascetic order by a saint named Gōvinda-prabhu who gave him the name Chakradhara. Chakradhara is credited with the composition of some songs in praise of the god. They are known as Chaupadis. A disciple of his, Umāmbā by name, is also stated to have composed a few such chaupadis.

Nāgadēvāchārya, a devoted disciple of Chakradhara, was largely responsible for the propagation of this school. So much so, he is known as the first teacher of this school. He was a native of Purī in Bid District and lived between 1236 and 1302 A.D. No work, however, has been ascribed to him.

Rūpāyī alias Mahadāmbāṇi is <sup>credited</sup> ~~ascribed~~ with the authorship of some dhavales which are also religious songs like the chaupadis. One of such dhavales deals with the story of god Kṛishṇa and it is believed to have been composed by Rūpāyī on the occasion when Gōvindaprabhu

'celebrated' the divine marriage of <sup>a</sup>Śrī Kṛishṇa. Traditionally, hundred and fifty dhavales are ascribed to this pious lady. Rūpāyī was the cousin sister of Nāgadēvāchārya. She was the contemporary of the Sēūna king Kannara and Mahādēva.

In the Mahānubhāvi literature, Līlācharitra, a work of Mahīndravayāsa, occupies an important place. The author, also known as Mahīndrabhaṭṭa, was a direct disciple of Chakradhara. Apart from the Chaupadis and Dhavales referred to above, Līlācharitra is the first work of the Mahānubhāvi school. This work is a biography of Chakradhara wherein the author describes fifteen hundred and nine līlās or miraculous deeds of his guru. Mahīndrabhaṭṭa claims to be a poet-scholar, calling himself 'sun of knowledge on earth'. The story goes that his pride was reduced by Chakradhara whose disciple he subsequently <sup>became</sup> ~~accepted~~. Mahīndrabhaṭṭa's another work, written in 1263 A.D., is known as Padyakharadā and that became the basis for the work Ratnamālā-stōtra of Kēsavavyāsa. Two commentaries on Gītā, <sup>the</sup> one in Sanskrit and the other in Marāṭhī, are also ascribed to him.

Bhāskarabhaṭṭa was another author of this school. He was a disciple of Nāgadēvāchārya and a native of Kasai Beri in Parbhani District. Of his works, Śīsūpālavadha is a poem exhibiting erotic sentiments. His another work, uddhava-gītā, is the exposition of the 11th skanda of Bhāgavata. It was written in 1274 A.D. The latter work states that his Śīsūpālavadha was rejected by Bhāvadēva-vyāsa, as being not fit to be read by the viraktas. Hence the uddhava-gītā came to be written. <sup>The</sup> Opinion of other section of scholars who held that Śīsūpālavadha also furthered the cause of paramārtha is also recorded in the same context. Besides these, Bhāskara is also stated to have written the other works Pūjāvasara, Isastuti and Dattātrēyacharitra. His works

earned for him the title Kavīśvara. Two commentaries on the Bhagavad-gītā, one in Sanskrit and the other in Marāṭhī are also ascribed to him.

Bhāvadēvavyāsa was a senior colleague of Bhāskara. His work is called Pūjāvasara and it describes the daily routine of Chakradhara.

Kēśavavyāsa was the next known author. His Siddhāntasūtra pāṭha is a collection of sūtras from Līlācharitra. Of the Sanskrit works ascribed to him, mention may be made of Ratnamālā-stōtra, Jñānakalānidhi-stōtra and Drishtānta-stōtra. Mūrtiprakāśa composed in a kind of verse known as ōvi is an important work inasmuch as it supplies good information about Chakradhara.

Gōpālapaṇḍita alias Anantapaṇḍita or Anerājavyāsa was a brother of Kēśavavyāsa. He is the author of the two works Lakṣhaṇa-ratnākara in Sanskrit and Subhāshit-āntākṣharī in Marāṭhī.

Dāmōdarapaṇḍita, another saint of this school wrote a kāvya known as Vatsaḥaraṇa in ōvi style. He is known to have been an expert musician. Some chaupadis also are ascribed to him and a number of commentaries have been written on these chaupadis. Dāmōdara's wife Hīrāmbā was also initiated into the ascetic order of the Mahānubhāva sect.

Narēndra-kavi was a contemporary of Rāmachandra. His work Rukmīnī-svayamvara is also in ōvi style. He was a disciple of Nāga-dēvāchārya. This kāvya was written in 1286 A.D. An anecdote goes to say that the king Rāmachandra was very much pleased with this work and that he ~~personally~~ honoured the poet. Narēndra's brothers Śalyakavi and Narasiṃhakavi are credited with the authorship of the works Rāmāyana

and Nalōpākhyāna respectively. But neither work has yet come to light.

Nāgadēvāchārya-charitra is a work in prose by Parāsurāmāchārya. As the very name suggests, this work is a biography of Nāgadēvāchārya, to whom a reference has been made above.

Hayagrīvya<sup>a</sup> was the author of Gadyarāja, a work in Marāṭhī verse in different metres. He is said to have been born in 1265 A.D. and died at Paithan in 1324 A.D.

Nāgadēvāchārya's son Mahēśvarāchārya was also a Marāṭhī author. He is known as the author of some stōtras like the Nirvēda-stōtra and Sankatāstōtra. Still another commentary on the Gītā was written by Jāsōvyāsa alias Yakshadēva in 1302 A.D.

The most remarkable commentary on the Gītā and an important contribution to the Marāṭhī literature of this period, ~~however~~, is the Jñānēśvarī, i.e., the work of Jñānēśvara. It occupies a high place in Marāṭhī literature not just for its being one of the earliest works but for its beautiful poetry and its treatment of religion and philosophy in an appealing and convincing manner. It may be noted in this connection that the work bears much ~~of the~~ influence of the Kannada language which was the prominent language of the period in <sup>the</sup> Deccan.<sup>65</sup> The <sup>Marāṭhī</sup> literature was further enriched by the devotional songs generally known as the abhangas by the saint-poets like Muktabāyī, Nāmadēva and Gōrākumbār and others.<sup>66</sup>

65 For a detailed study of such influence see A.B.O.R.I., Vol.XI, pp.374 ff.

66 The above account of the Mahānubhāvi literature is mainly drawn from Mahānubhāviya Marāṭhī Vāṅmaya, by Y.K. Deshpande.



Though we come across a large number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa, there are <sup>not many</sup> ~~are~~ instances of Marāṭhī inscriptions belonging to this period. This is apparently because Marāṭhī had not, as yet, attained the literary prosperity of classical Sanskrit or classical Kannaḍa. Possibly traditions and conventions played an important part in deciding the language of the inscriptions. It should, however, be noted that a few Marāṭhī passages have found their way into some lithic records.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### MINOR SĒUNA DYNASTIES

#### I The Sēūnas of Māsavāḍi:

When the members of the main line of the Sēūna dynasty who, as the governors of Sēūnadēsa, were carrying on their activities in that territory, a collateral branch was holding sway over a small principality called the division of Māsavāḍi 140, comprising (of) the region round about modern Dambal in Gadag taluk of Dharwar District. Like the main dynasty, the latter also called themselves the Sēūnas or Sēgunas and bore the epithets Yādavanārāyaṇa and vatī-puravarādhīśvara. Like the imperial Sēūnas, they also mention their insignia, suvarṇa-garuda-dhvaṇa. The exact relationship between the two families cannot be established; but it is worthwhile noting that they continued in power for quite a long time, down to the period of Siṅghana II of the main line. Nothing is known of them thereafter.

Though they were generally associated with the governorship of Māsavāḍi, some of the members of the family were also placed in charge of the districts of Purigere 300 and Kōgaḷi 500.

The earliest known member of the family was Kuppeya or Kuppeyarasa, who figures as a subordinate of the Kāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I. In 865 A.D., he was governing the district of Purigere 300<sup>1</sup> and continued to hold that office till at least 869 A.D.<sup>2</sup> His records ranging between these dates give him the titles Yādava-vaṇśō-

1 Kr.Ins., Vol.I, pp.13-14; S.I.I., Vol.XI, Pt.1, No.11.

2 Ep.Ind., Vol.XIII, pp.182-83.

dbhava and raṇamūrkhā-dhavaḷa. A record of 897 A.D. also appears to belong to him as could be judged from the titles yādava-vamśōd-bhava, raṇamūrkhā-dhavaḷa and raṇa-mūrkhā-kēsari. This record belongs to <sup>Rāshtrakūṭa</sup> <sup>3</sup> Kṛishṇa II. Still another record belonging to the same king but written in characters of the 12th century which may be therefore <sup>be</sup> a copy of an earlier record mentions Kuppādēvarasa with the same titles. <sup>4</sup> It is apparent that this chief is the same as the above. The latter two records associate him with the governorship of Kōgaḷi 500 and Māsavāḍi 140, in addition to that of Purigere 300. Therefore, it follows that Kuppeya, making a beginning as the governor of Purigere some time before 865 A.D., rose to power so as to acquire authority over the districts of Kōgaḷi and Māsavāḍi by 897 A.D.

What happened to these chiefs after Kuppeya (I), we do not know. We next hear of <sup>5</sup> the chief of this family in an epigraph of 1024 A.D. The title Raṇamūrkhā-vamśōdbhava applied to Āytavarma-rasa, figuring in this inscription of Jagadēkamalla Jayasīṃha II, indicates that he belonged to this Sēūṇa family. It is not, however, stated which of the territories he was governing.

Yādavanārāyaṇa Nāgavarmarasa seems to have been the next chief of this family. He is mentioned in a record of 1032 A.D., as a scion of Jayasīṃha II. <sup>6</sup>

A record of 1041 A.D. registers a grant made to Bollabbe, the daughter (?) of a Gēmmarasa, and enjoins that the grant should be pro-

3 S.I.I., Vol.XI, Pt.1, No.22.

4 Ibid., No.30.

5 Ibid., Vol.XI, Pt.1, No.62.

6 Ibid., No.66.

ected by the 'kings of the Sēguṇa family' (Sēguṇavāṁśad-arasugalu).<sup>7</sup>  
On the strength of just this statement it becomes difficult to identify Gommarasa as a Sēguṇa chief.<sup>8</sup> The territory under Gommarasa is also not specified in the record.

<sup>9</sup>  
(II) A record from Sattūru dated in 1044 A.D. introduces a Kupparasa with the titles Yādava-vāṁśōdbhava and Raṇamūrkhā-rāma. He is here stated to have been the manneya of Māsavāḍi 140. It is interesting to note that unlike the earlier Kuppeyarasa, who was also associated with Kōgaḷi 500, this Kupparasa held sway only over Māsavāḍi. The record states that Kōgaḷi among others was governed by a Nolamba-Pallava chief by name Permāṇaḍi.

Mahāsāmanṭa Ajjarasa, who also bore the title Raṇamūrkhā-pārtha, Dvāravatī-puravarādhīśvara and Suvarṇa-gaṇaḍa<sup>is</sup>,<sup>10</sup> evidently a member of this Sēṇa family. A record of Sōmēśvara I represents him as a subordinate of Akkāḍēvi, who among others, was the head of Māsavāḍi district. Apparently Ajjarasa was governing this district as a representative of Akkāḍēvi.

The next chief of this family we hear of is mahāsāmanṭa Mādhavāraraṣa or Māchibhūpa. He also had the titles Dvāravatī-puravarādhīśvara, Yādava-vāṁśōdbhava, Raṇamūrkhā-pārtha and Suvarṇa-gaṇaḍa<sup>11</sup>. It is worth noting that Mādhavāra is called Ajjaran

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<sup>7</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.140.

<sup>8</sup> It has been so done. See I.H.Q., 10th Session, p.231.

<sup>9</sup> S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.i, No.99.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., No.86.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., No.92.

amkakāra, i.e. 'the servant of Ajjara'. Ajjarasa, a member of this family, is noticed just above. It is very likely that Mādhavāra was very closely connected with the Ajjarasa, herein called Ajjara. It is not <sup>roba</sup>impossible that he was Ajjarasa's son. The record does not specify the territory under Mādhavāra, but it is possible to presume that he held sway over Māsavāḍi, because it is stated that through his favour, a Dāsimaḡya was administering the agrahāra Kisugunḍi. Kisugunḍi is the present Tāmbraḡunḍi (the findspot of the record) in Munduaragi taluk of the Dharwar District and this area comprised <sup>12</sup> of Māsavāḍi 140.

For about fifty years again, after Mādhavāra, nothing is known about these chiefs. The next chief we hear of is Sōmadēvarasa, who on account of his titles Dvārāvati-puravāradhīśvara and Yādava, may be surmised to have belonged to this family. He was a feudatory of <sup>13</sup> Vikramāditya VI.

(A ~~certain~~ mahāmandalēśvara Mahēndra of the Yadu family is also <sup>14</sup> presumed to have belonged to this family. But the presumption is

12 A Mādhava of the Yādava family occurs in an undated inscription from Uchchangidurga (?) and this chief has been identified with Mādhavāra (I.H.Q., 10th Ses. pp.233-34). Mādhava of <sup>the</sup> Uchchangidurga record is stated to be the sāmanta of Ballaha who is taken to be Sōmēśvara I. But this is not correct. ~~The Chola kings are not the Ballahas and it was applicable to Rāshtrakūṭa. Secondly, the record mentions a Rāshtrakūṭa. The palaeography also is too early for Sōmēśvara I. It is likely therefore that this Mādhava was a scion of a Rāshtrakūṭa king. It is doubtful also if he belonged to the Sēūna family of Māsavāḍi.~~

13 A.H.S.I.E., 1929-30, B.K. No.35.

X14 .H.Q. 10th Session, pp.234-35.

erroneous. Though this Mahēndra is associated with the race of Yadu, his other title Kāñchīpuravarēśvara clearly precludes him from belonging to the Sēūna family since the members of the latter <sup>family</sup> were known as Dvārāvati-puravarādhīśvara.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Hemmāḍi or Permāḍidēva was the next chief of this family. In an inscription of 1113 A.D. belonging to Vikramāditya VI <sup>15</sup> he bears the epithets mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Dvārāvati-puravarādhīśvara, Śēṣa Bhīma, Suvarṇagarudadhvaṇa and Yādava-vamsōdbhava. He is herein represented as governing Māsavāḍi 140. A record of 1124 A.D. <sup>16</sup> praises him as the subduer of the Mālava and Panchāla kings.

A chief, Gōma by name, appears to have come to power after Permāḍi. <sup>Some</sup> records of Jagadēkamalla II introduce a Hemmāḍidēva, who in addition to being associated with the usual titles Dvārāvati-puravarādhīśvara, Yādava-kula-kumudini-nisākara and Sēūnanāyaprasūta <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> is also called Gōmana-siṅga and Gōmana Hemmāḍi. This indicates that Hemmāḍi was probably the son of Gōma and succeeded the latter. Again it must be the same Gōmarasa who is mentioned as mahāmaṇḍalēśvara in a record of Jagadēkamalla II wherein Permāḍidēvarasa <sup>19</sup> is also mentioned. In another record of 1145 A.D. of the same king, <sup>20</sup> Permāḍidēva is described as Kumāra. Hemmāḍidēva appears to have been

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15 S.I.I., Vol.XI, Pt.II, No.165.

16 Ibid. No.175. See also No.197. No.201 also seems to mention him only.

17 A.R.S.I.E., 1928-29, B.K.No.56.

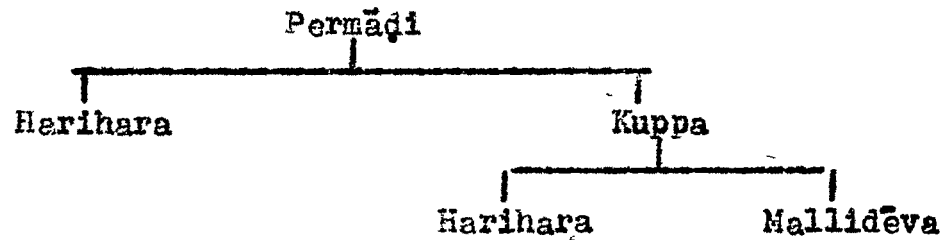
18 Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.Nos.20-21.

19 Ibid., 1928-29, B.K.No.56.

20 Ibid., 1929-30, B.K.No.7. See also Ibid., Nos.20-21.

opposed by a certain tantrapāla Tonḍayya. But Sōmayya the former's subordinate defeated the enemy and 'established the Sēūṇa kingdom'.

Permāḍi was succeeded by Kuppa. He was governing the district of Māsavāḍi in 1147 A.D.<sup>21</sup> An undated inscription from Dambal,<sup>22</sup> refers to a Permāḍi and his successors. On palaeographical grounds, the record may be ascribed to <sup>the</sup> 12th century. This record gives the genealogy as follows:



It is possible that Kuppa of the record of 1147 A.D. is identical with Permāḍi's son Kuppa of the Dambal inscription. From an epigraph of Hoysala Ballāḷa II,<sup>23</sup> we learn that Permāḍi's wife was Achaladēvi ~~who was~~ the daughter of a certain Siveyanāyaka.

Gōmadēvarasa bearing the titles Yadavanāyaka and Dvārāvātī-puravarādhīśvara figures in an inscription of Sōmēśvara IV. It is likely therefore that he was the next chief of this family.

With Sōmēśvara IV, the Chālukya rule ended and, before the rise of the imperial Sēūṇas, the Hoysalas held sway over a good part of the Chālukya territory. With this change, the Sēūṇas of Māsavāḍi also appear to have changed their allegiance to the Hoysalas. An inscription of Ballāḷa II<sup>24</sup> mentions Dvārāvātīpuravarādhīśvara Gōma-

21 A.R.S.I.E., 1927-28, B.K. No.53.

22 Ibid., B.K. No.70.

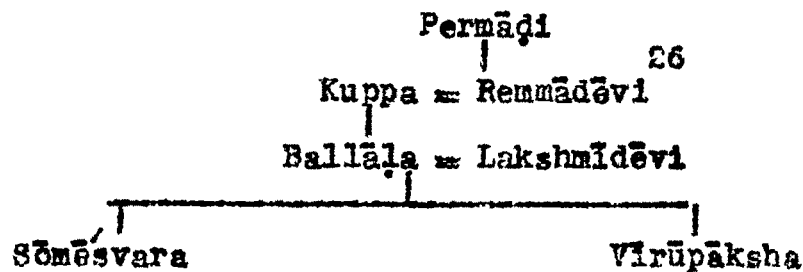
23 Ep.Carn., Vol.II, No.327.

24 S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.1, No.337.



dēva who is also called Sinda-siṅṅunāvaya-prasūta. Siṅṅa here may be a mistake for Sēṅṅa. It is not unlikely that Gōmadēvarasa above is the same as this Gōmadēva.

After Gōma came Ballāḷa, the son of Kuppa. The Hirēvaḍa-<sup>25</sup>vaṭṭi inscription of Siṅṅa II gives the following genealogy of this chief:



With the commencement of Siṅṅa's reign, Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa had to give up the territory north of the Tuṅgabhadra to the former. Thus, again the Māsavāḍi district and its governors, became the vassals of Siṅṅa. This is how we find Ballāḷa, the son of Kuppa, governing that district as the Siṅṅa's subordinate.

Ballāḷa is the last chief of this family known to have been governing Māsavāḍi. No further information is available regarding the two sons of his.

25 This inscription has been noticed by Fleet in Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt.ii, p.506, note 2. An impression <sup>of</sup> this record is preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

26 On the ground that Remmādēvi, the queen of Ballāḷa II, made a grant in the village Kaulūr situated in her own district Māsavāḍi, Fleet thinks that she belonged to the family of Permāḍi of Māsavāḍi. Similarly, on account of the association of Ballāḷa's another queen Kētaladēvi with Māsavāḍi, the same author thinks her to be connected with Remmādēvi (Op.cit., Vol.I, Pt.ii, pp.501-02).

## II. The Sēūpas of Pānuṅgal:

Another family of the Sēūpas, very closely related to the imperial dynasty, lived in the Andhra country, as the vassals of the Kākatīyas. The only inscription revealing this family is found at Pānuṅgal<sup>27</sup> in Kollapur taluk of Mahbubnagar District.

The inscription introduces a Sāraṅgapāṇidēva, as the son of Siṅghaṇa. Siṅghaṇa's father and grandfather were Jaitugi and Bhillama respectively. But for the name Sāraṅgapāṇi, the genealogy agrees with that of the imperial Sēūpas. Sāraṅgapāṇi, a feudatory of the Kākatīya queen Rudrāmbā, is seen bearing all the titles enumerating the conquests of the imperial Sēūpa ruler Siṅghaṇa II. On the basis of this, it has been thought that the Sāraṅgapāṇi in question was the son of Siṅghaṇa II. Two faulty records from Hirekōgilur in Shimoga District<sup>28</sup> have added to this wrong surmise. These latter records give the Sēūpa genealogy as follows:

Jaitugi  
|  
Bhillama  
|  
Siṅghaṇa  
|  
Sāraṅgapāṇi

After Sāraṅgapāṇi is mentioned Mahādēva without the specification of the relation between them. This Mahādēva has been wrongly taken to be the son of Sāraṅgapāṇi, who again is identified with Sāraṅgapāṇi of the Pānuṅgal inscription. On the basis of these surmises

27 Hyd. Arch. Series, No.13, Ins. No.34.

28 Ep. Carn., Vol.XI, Ci. 21-22.

it has been argued that when Mahādēva attacked the Kākatīya country, he was repulsed by Rudrāmbā; Nevertheless Mahādēva's father Sāraṅgapāṇidēva "who had probably seized the fort of Pānugal during the invasion, was unwilling to surrender and return to his native country even after the defeat and subsequent retreat of his son. Having realised that under the circumstances it would be impossible for him to exercise independent authority there, he appears to have decided to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kākatīya queen and pay homage to her as one of her vassals in order to retain the fort in his possession." <sup>29</sup> The argument on the very face of it, is fallacious. Firstly, the Hirekēgilūr records do not say that Mahādēva was the son of Sāraṅgapāṇi. That the genealogy of these records is faulty, is clear from the fact that Jaitugi is placed earlier than Bhīllama, whereas the reverse is the fact. Further, all the relevant sources are unanimous that Mahādēva was the son of Jaitugi II and the younger brother of Kannara. It is quite likely that Sāraṅgapāṇi of these records is identical with Kṛishṇa or Kannara, since the two names are synonymous. Further, it is clear that Mahādēva attacked the Kākatīya queen as an independent ruler. If his father were alive, he would have been the ruler and Mahādēva would be just a prince and the question of Sāraṅgapāṇi's fear of the impossibility of exercising 'independent authority' would not arise at all. No where Mahādēva is stated to have ousted his father.

So, it is obvious that the Sēūṇa Sāraṅgapāṇidēva of the Pānugal inscription belonged to a collateral branch of the Sēūṇas and the identity of the names of his predecessors with those of the

imperial rulers, as also the fact that he bore all the titles of  
Singhana II only show that his family was closely related to the  
imperial dynasty.

APPENDIX II  
SOME FEUDATORIES OF THE SĒŪNAS

I Guttas of Guttavolal:

One of the prominent feudatory families that served under the Sēūnas, the Guttas of Guttavolal held sway over a small principality comprising parts of Dharwar District mainly round about Guttal, now a village in the Haveri taluk of that District. Their authority extended, for some time at least, slightly beyond that in the districts of North Kanara, Shimoga and Bellary. These chiefs who claim their descent from the famous Guptas of the Northern India, first made their appearance as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and continued to hold that position under the Kālachūryas and then the Sēūnas, who rose to eminence following the fall of the Chālukyas. It is interesting to note that these chiefs grew from strength to strength and extended their territory day by day. The political chaos caused by the continuous fight for power between the Hoysalas and the Sēūnas for sway over Chālukya territory gave them an opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of the overlordship of the ruling monarchs and declare independence, though indeed this independence was short-lived. They had to accept the suzerainty of the Kalachuryas and later on of the Sēūnas. Though feudatories, the Gutta chiefs wielded full authority over their territory and commanded the respect of ruling sovereigns whose feudatories they were. Again, through deeds like building temples and patronising different religious institutions and individuals, they also contributed to the cultural life of this part of the country.

The family to which these chiefs belong<sup>ed</sup> is called in the epigraphs Gutta-vamśa or the family of the Guttas. This apparently is

is the corruption of the word Gupta to which dynasty they trace their origin. But it is difficult to ascertain in what way they were connected with the Imperial Guptas or when they migrated, if <sup>they did so,</sup> at all, to the southern part of the country, from their original homeland. What all we gather from the inscriptions is that they belonged to the family of Chandragupta Vikramāditya who is rightly taken to be Chandragupta II.<sup>1</sup>

The first member of the family is Māgutta. No record of him is found so far but he is mentioned in an inscription from Chauda-<sup>2</sup> dānapura which refers itself to the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. Māgutta's son was Gutta I but about him also we get no further information except that he was an ambitious chief. He was not satisfied with what he inherited. So he put down all his opponents and obtained (more) land.<sup>3</sup> But who these opponents were or from whom he obtained the land, the record does not specify. His epithets Gutt-ānvaya-vams-āgrani, Gutta-ānvaya-rājabhavana-maṅgala-kalasa and the like indicate that under him the Gutta family rose to fame. It may be that he was a chief under Vikramāditya VI or his predecessor.

Of Gutta's son Mallidēva, we have only one record.<sup>4</sup> But this

1 Contact of the Imperial Guptas with Karnatak is not unknown to history. That there was formed a matrimonial alliance between them and the Kadāmbas is established by the Talgunda inscription of Kūṭasthavarma of the latter family, who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gupta prince.

2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 580. A transcript of it, together with a facsimile is published in Śivadēva-Vijaya (plate facing p. 59, and App. I, No. VIII).

3 Śivadēva-Vijaya, App. I, No. VIII, lines 17-19.

4 Ibid.

record is unfortunately incomplete and thus <sup>prevents</sup> ~~denies~~ us from getting any historical information about him. The extant portion of the record does not also give the date. But as it belongs to the reign of Tribbuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and mentions the latter's famous general Gōvindadaṇḍanātha, Fleet has ascribed it to 1115 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Apparently Mallidēva was a subordinate of this general. Mallidēva had ~~under him~~ subordinate officers who belonged to the Jaṭāchōḷa family.

Mallidēva had a younger brother whose name was Jōma (or Jōyi-<sup>6</sup> dēva I). This fact is revealed ~~now~~ by an inscription at Honnatti. This inscription, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 48 (i.e. 1124 A.D.), states that he was then governing the divisions of Beluhuge 70, Honnavatti 12 and Benṇevūr 12 as manneya. His capital was Gutta-  
volal.

Jōyidēva was succeeded by Mallidēva's son Vikramāditya I. This chief too has only one record for him and it is dated in 1162-<sup>7</sup> 63 A.D. It associates him with the same divisions as those under his predecessor.

Jōyidēva I, it appears, had a sister named Bāchaladēvi, who was married to the Kadamba chief Bīradēva. This is <sup>u</sup>suggested by an inscription at Raṭṭihalli. The record is not dated but belongs to Chālukya Jagadēkamalla II.<sup>8</sup> Bāchaladēvi is here stated to have be-

5 Bom-Gaz., Vol.I, Pt.11, p.586.

6 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K. No.89.

7 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K. No.51.

8 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, No.96.

longed to the Gutta family. On chronological grounds, she can be surmised to be the sister of Jōyidēva I.

According to another inscription from Raṭṭahalli<sup>9</sup> dated in 1174 A.D., Kētarasa of the same Kadamba family married a Lalīyādēvi, who also is stated to have belonged to the Gutta family. Pāṇḍya, the son of this couple, is also stated to have married a Bāchaladēvi who was the daughter of Vikramāditya. Since matrimonial alliance had taken place between the two families and since Vikramāditya, the contemporary of Pāṇḍya, could be the Gutta chief of that name, it is very likely that the wife of Pāṇḍya was the daughter of Gutta Vikramāditya I. Then the relation between Lalīyādēvi and Vikramāditya is to be decided. <sup>The</sup> ~~No~~ parentage of the former is <sup>not</sup> given. Since Vikramāditya's daughter married Pāṇḍya and the latter's mother also belonged to the Gutta family, it is not out of the way to presume that she was the sister of Vikramāditya I. This sister got her brother's daughter for her son's wife. Thus it follows that Vikramāditya I had a sister named Lalīyādēvi and a daughter by name Bāchaladēvi.

Vikramāditya's son and successor Jōyidēva II was a more powerful prince. He annexed to his territory the division of Binnavura<sup>12</sup> Sattalige<sup>12</sup> and Bidarhalli<sup>12</sup>. An inscription from Kengonda state<sup>11</sup> that he was governing over Banavāsi 12,000 also. We have for him four records dated in 1177,<sup>12</sup> 1179,<sup>13</sup> 1181<sup>14</sup> and 1182 A.D.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., No.94.

<sup>10</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K. No.84.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., B.K.No.54.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.123. This inscription from Belgāmi is translated in Mysore Inscriptions by Rice. In the translation (p. 152) occurs a Sāmpakarasa, apparently through mistake. On the basis



he died without issues and therefore he was succeeded by Vikramāditya II, the son of his younger brother Gutta II, who apparently died at <sup>pre</sup> premature death earlier than Jōyidēva himself.

This prince, Vikramāditya II, was by far the most ambitious and powerful member of the family. Though he succeeded to the throne in about the beginning of 1183 A.D., he was associated with the governorship much earlier as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent.<sup>16</sup> The districts of Nīambavādi and Perbālu 70 appear to have come under his control. The most important thing about him is that for a short period at least he ruled independently, not recognising any monarch as his overlord. His predecessors, as we have seen, were the subordinates of Western Chālukyas but when after Taila III, the sovereignty went to the Kālachuryas, their allegiance too was transferred to the latter. But Kalachurya power could not hold <sup>the</sup> ground for a long time. When Sōmēśvara IV succeeded in <sup>he</sup> establishing Chālukya sovereignty by overthrowing the Kālachuryas, Gutta Vikramāditya also, who had accepted the overlordship of Kālachurya Bhavamalla, ~~and~~ <sup>long</sup> proclaimed himself as the subordinate of Sōmēśvara. He fought for him also in pushing back the Hoysala king who tried to raid the

of this, Fleet has written saying that 'Sāmpakarasa who belonged to the Gutta family cannot at present be referred to his place in the genealogy' (op.cit., p.581). But actually there is no reference to Sāmpakarasa at all in the text. It reads Śrīman-mahāmandalēśvaram Gupta-vaṁśa-sudhākaranam Śrī Gaḷagēśvara-divya-śrīpād-ārādhakhanappa Jōyidēvarasanam ... The record is dated in the 3rd year of Kalachuri king Saṅgama and therefore Jōyidēva mentioned therein may be identified with Joyidēva II.

14 A.B.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No.55.

15 Ibid., 1933-34, B.K. No.54.

Chālukya territory in 1186 A.D.<sup>17</sup> His devotedness to Sōmēśvara can be well understood if we keep in view the long association of his family with the Chālukya dynasty, from the very beginning. But Sōmēśvara's reign did not last long. His fall meant the fall of the Chālukya empire, for the authority over which the Hoysalas and the Sēūnas continued to fight. This gave an opportunity for Vikramāditya to declare himself independent and from 1186 A.D. onwards we do not find any of his inscriptions mentioning his overlord. The last date we have for him is 1233 A.D.<sup>18</sup> This short period of independence must have ended with Vikramāditya himself, because we find his successors accepting the overlordship of the Sēūnas who were then gaining ground over the northern portions of the territory of the Chālukyas.

Vikramāditya had two sons, Jōyidēva III and Vikramāditya III. Only two records of Jōyidēva III are so far found. The one is dated in 1238 A.D.<sup>19</sup> and the other in 1241 A.D.<sup>20</sup> The latter does not mention any overlord but the fact that it refers to Bīchiseṭṭi, who was the famous general of Siṅghapa II, goes to show that Jōyidēva had accepted the overlordship of the latter.

It is not possible to ascertain as to when exactly Jōyidēva's rule came to an end. But surely by 1248 A.D. his brother Vikramāditya III had succeeded him; because an inscription of the latter date states that the village Hebbāl was Vikramāditya's Kumāra-vritti<sup>21</sup> on that date. He was the subordinate of the Sēūna king Kannara.

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16 A.R.S.I.E., 1932-33, B.K.No. 55.

17 Ibid., B.K. No.104.

18 Ibid., 1932-33, B.K. No.135.

19 J.E.B.R.A.S., Vol.XV, pp.383 ff.

20 A.R.S.I.E., 1933-34, B.K.No.91.

21 Ibid., B.K. No.50.

The events between 1248 A.D. and 1259 A.D. cannot be narrated with certainty. The latter is the earliest known date of Gutta III the son and successor of Vikramāditya III.

Gutta III had a brother elder to him as is revealed by two inscriptions at Chaudadānapura. But there is no clue to decide whether he ruled ~~or not~~ ~~or not~~. From the way in which he is mentioned in these records, it is possible to surmise that he did not rule. This elder brother was named Vikramāditya<sup>22</sup> who is the IV of that name in the family.

Of Gutta III we have four records, all from Chaudadānapura and ranging in date from 1259 to 1285 A.D.<sup>23</sup> His overlord was Kannara for some time and later his brother Mahādēva. Two brothers of Gutta III, Hiriyadēva and Joyideva IV, figure in one of these inscriptions, but nothing about them except their names and parentage.

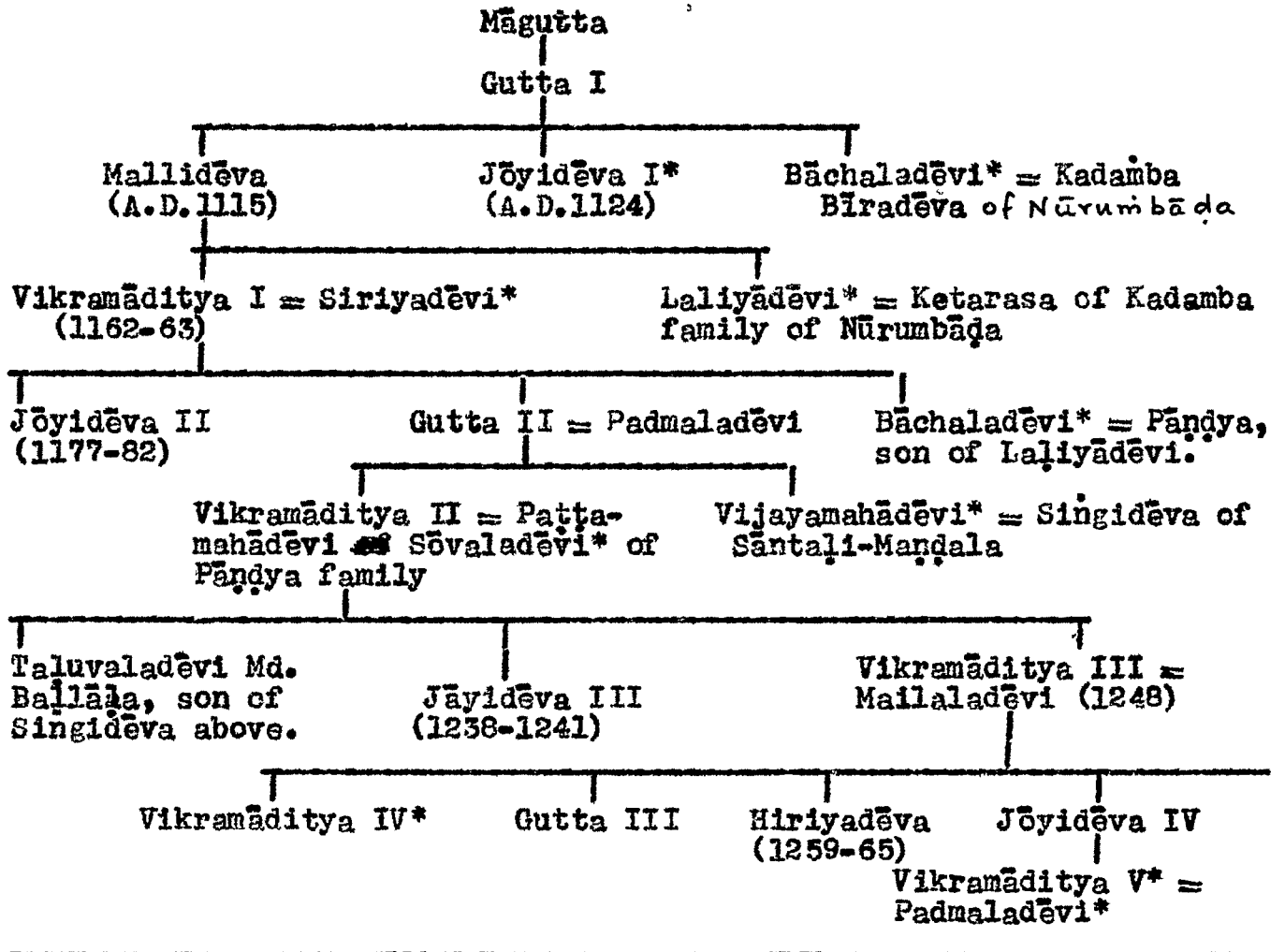
An inscription discovered at Hirēbidari in Ranebennur taluk belonging to the reign of Rāmachandra and dated in 1283 A.D.<sup>24</sup> introduces a Vikramāditya, associating him with all the titles usual to the Gutta

22 See Sivadēva-vijaya App.A, Nos.IV and V. The expression Vikramānujātām 'sri Guttām in No.IV is interpreted by Dr. S.C. Nandimath, as meaning that Gutta III was the son of Vikrama, i.e., Vikramāditya IV. He argues that though the word anujāta generally means a younger brother, there are instances where it is used in the sense of son (Sivanubhava, Vol.IV, No.3, p.115). Even presuming that the word in question has <sup>the</sup> latter sense also, it is not necessary to take it in that sense, in the present context. That Gutta III was a younger brother of Vikramāditya IV is amply borne out by the expression in <sup>the</sup> second inscription (No.V) viz., Vikramāditya-putra, Vira-Vikramāditya-anuja-Gutta' meaning Gutta, the son of Vikramāditya and younger brother of Vira-Vikramāditya

family. The inscription gives the latter's genealogy for two generations before him thus: Vikramāditya his son Jōma and in succession to him Vikramāditya. The relation between the <sup>last</sup> ~~latter~~ two is not specified. But from the date of the record and the context it can be surmised that <sup>the second</sup> ~~last~~ Vikramāditya was the son of his predecessor Jōma, who is Jōyidēva IV. The ~~latter~~ Vikramāditya therefore is Vikramāditya V.

The inscription further states that this last Vikramāditya had a wife named Padmaladēvi. Vikramāditya V is the last member of the family so far known. <sup>25</sup>

From the facts set forth in the preceeding pages the genealogy of the family may be reconstructed as follows:



He can be none else but Gutta III, the son of Vikramāditya III and younger brother of Vikramāditya IV.

23 For the text of these inscriptions see Sivadēva-vijaya, App.A. Nos. III IV, V and IV.

## II Kadambas of Nūrubāda:

Some inscriptions from Raṭṭihalli<sup>26</sup> reveal a new family called the Kadambas, which apparently is a variant of Kadambas. Unlike the other family of the Kadambas of Karadikal, Kadambas of Nūrubāda, ~~this family~~ had no connection with Banavāsi. They call themselves Kadambavamsōdbhava and they had the banner of Hanumān (gākhācharēndradhvaia). The area of Nūrubāda comprised (of) the divisions of Raṭṭapalli 70 and Itṭage 30 and roughly covered the eastern portion of Hirekerur<sup>and</sup> western portion of Ranebennūr taluks in Dharwar District. Raṭṭipalli, i.e. Raṭṭihalli is situated in the former taluk and Itṭagi, i.e., Itgi is in the latter.

The first member of the family was Bīradēva, who is stated to have defeated an enemy as <sup>as reward</sup> ~~the prize~~ for which he got from the king the governorship of Nūrubāda, the capital of which was Raṭṭihalli. It is however not possible to ascertain as to which enemy he defeated or who his master was. A record mentioning Kētarasa who was fourth in succession from Bīradēva belongs to Jagadēkamalla II who ruled till 1149 A.D. Ascribing to each an approximate period of twenty years, Bīradēv may be placed as the contemporary of Chālukya Sōmēśvara I.

24 A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, B.K. No.106.

25 An inscription from Guttal mentions a chief whose name appears to be Gōmiyadēvarasa and who has the birudas, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ujaniya puravarādhīśvara and Hannibbaragaṇḍa. The record is not dated. The titles suggest that he belonged to the Gutta family but in the absence of the date and other details it is not possible to connect this chief with any one in the main line.

\* Names with (\*) mark <sup>in the genealogical table above</sup> do not find a place in the genealogy given by Fleet, op.cit., p.565.

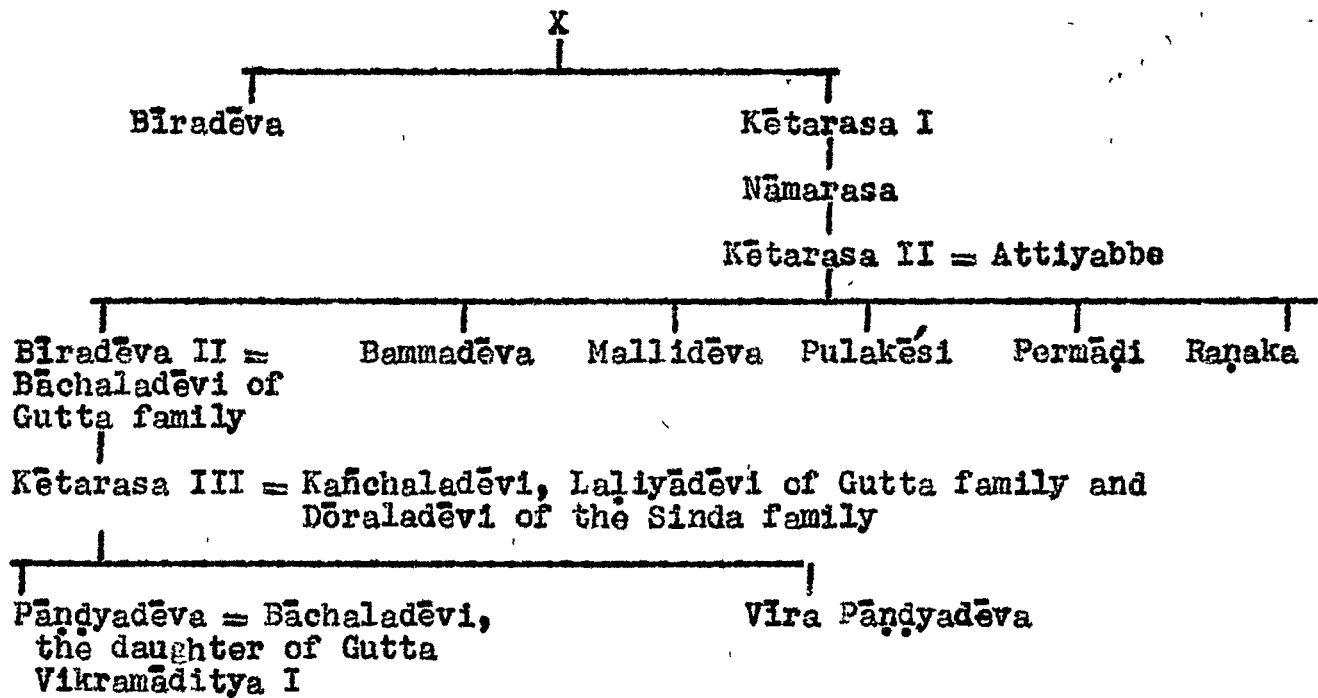
26 A.R.I.E., 1951-52, Nos. B 94-96.

Bīradēva's brother was Kētarasa I and the latter's son was Nāmarasa. Nāmarasa's son was Kētarasa II. His wife's name was Attiyabbe. The inscriptions give the names of Kētarasa's sons in a peculiar fashion. They first mention Polakēśi and Permāḍi as his sons and then mention a Kāṇaka without specifying his relation to Kēṭa. In all possibility he was another son of the latter. Then follow the names of his wife Attiyabbe and the names of their sons, Vīradēva, Bomma and Mallidēva. It therefore appears that the latter three were the sons born of Attiyabbe while the former three were from another wife, <sup>whose name is</sup> not at present known.

Kētarasa's son Bīradēva married Bāchaladēvi who belonged to the Gutta family. It is indicated above that she might have been the sister of Gutta Jāyidēva I.

Bīradēva's son Kētarasa III had three wives. The first one was Kāñchaladēvi, whose family is not known. His second wife was Lalīyādēvi who belonged to the Gutta family and was the sister of Vikramāditya I. Kētarasa's third wife Dōraladēvi came from the Sinda family. This Sinda family is in all probability the family of Belgutti, whose members were also the feudatories of the Chālukyas. It is not unlikely that she was the daughter of Īsvaradēva I of that family.

Kētarasa had a son by name Pāṇḍyadēva. His wife was Bāchaladēvi, described as the daughter of Vikramāditya, who is probably the same as Vikramāditya I of the Gutta family. Pāṇḍyadēva was a contemporary and subordinate of Kalachūrya Rāyamūrāri Sōvidēva in 1174 A.D. An inscription from the same place introduces a younger brother of his named Vīrapāṇḍyap. He was ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> contemporary of Siṅghana II. The genealogy of the family may be shown thus:



### III. Kadambas of Karadikal:

Like that of the Kadambas of Nūrubāḍa another Kadamba family was ruling at Karadikal, in Lingsugur taluk of Raichur District, as the feudatories of the Sēūpas. Inscriptions at Karadikal, Mudgal, Lingsugūr, Navali and Halāvātgi in this taluk supply some details about this family.<sup>27</sup> The territory under their control was known as Karadikal three hundred, situated in Eḍedore 2000. This territory comprised of the area round about Karadikal in Lingsugur taluk.

The chiefs of this family call themselves ~~as~~ Kadambar-ābharana and Vanavāsi or Banavāsi-puravarādhīśvara. Mudgal seems to have been the headquarters of these chiefs. They are called Navileya-pārtha, thus indicating that Navile, i.e., modern Navali was a famous place in their territory. Their title Krishnānādyubhayatata rājahansa. (the swan on both the banks of the river Krishṇa) shows that their authority

<sup>27</sup> For an account of this family see also I.H.Q., Vol.XXXIV, pp. 167-169.

The extended across the river Krishnā. Krishnā flows very near Navali and the other bank of the river forms part of the Bijapur District. It is likely therefore that the Kadamba territory comprised parts of Lingsugur tāluk on the one side of Krishnā and parts of Bijapur <sup>District</sup> ~~tāluk~~ on the other.

The earliest known member of this family is Nāgavarmarasa.<sup>28</sup> He was a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I. His known date is 1066 A.D. After<sup>29</sup> Nāgavarma came Singarasa and Bhūtarasa. They were also subordinates<sup>30</sup> of Vikramāditya VI. Bhūtarasa's known dates are 1113<sup>31</sup> and 1119 A.D. Mādhavattiyarasa, the next chief in the family, was a contemporary of<sup>32</sup> Sōmēśvara III. His known dates are 1125<sup>33</sup> and 1135 A.D.

The Karadikal<sup>34</sup> and Mudgal<sup>35</sup> inscriptions of 1191 and 1215 A.D. respectively introduce a Bajjarasa belonging to this family and give his genealogy. But it is not possible to determine the relation between his ancestors and the chiefs enumerated above. The Karadikal inscription states the pedigree thus:

Bajjarasa I  
|  
Kācharasa I  
|  
Bajjarasa II = Bāchaladēvi  
|  
Kācharasa II = Sejjaladēvi  
|  
Bajjarasa III = Hollādēvi

28 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 714. He is also given the date 1077 A.D. (I.H.Q., Vol.XXXIV, p.168).

29 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 687-88.

30 I.H.Q., Vol.XXXIV, p.168.

31 A.R.I.E., 1958-59, No.B 711.

32 Ibid., 1953-54, No.B 241.

33 Ibid., 1958-59, No.B 712.

34. Ibid., 1953-54, No. B.240



This Bajjarasa was the contemporary of Bhillama and continued under Singhana II.

The Mudgal inscription mentioning Bajjarasa III gives only two other members in ascent, i.e., his father Kācharasa II and the latter's father Bajjarasa II.

#### IV. Haihayas of Morata:

Some records from the Manvi taluk in Raichur District reveal the existence of another feudatory family known as the Haihayas. They call themselves ~~as mahāmandalēśvara~~ and ~~belonging to~~ Haihaya-vaṃsa and claim to have been the lord of Māhishmatīpura.

The earliest known member of this family was Ghaṭṭidēvarasa, who was a feudatory of Jagadēkamalla II. He has three dates, <sup>36</sup> in 1140, 1148 and 1149 A.D. With the ascendancy of the Kalachuryas, these chiefs transferred their allegiance to the latter and we find Mallidēvarasa I of this family as the subordinate of Kalachurya Sankama <sup>37</sup> in 1178. His father Hulla or Hulleya <sup>38</sup> also must have been a subordinate of the Kalachurya. Hulla's wife was Rēkaladēvi. Mallidēva I had married Mākaladēvi. The fall of Kalachuryas and the rise of Chālukya power again made Mallidēva <sup>39</sup> a subordinate of the latter. The fact that his records mention the Chālukya era, even after the extinction of the latter power, shows that he was their most devoted subordinate. When Bhillama V established his authority over the

35 Ibid., No.B 253.

36 See A.R.I.E., 1960-61, Nos.558, 559 and 553.

37 Ibid., No.B 556.

38 See Ibid., and No.B 557.

39 Ibid. No.B 557 and Ibid. 1953-54, No.258.

Chālukya territory, Mallidēva did not submit to him. Reference has been made in Chapter III to his opposing Bhīllama. He continued to be independent even as late as in 1196, when Jaitugi I was ruling. 40  
Mallidēva had three sons, Allahulidēva, Hullegadēva and Bairugjidēva. Of these, Allahulidēva is represented to have made a grant of land out of his Kumāra-vṛitti in 1192 A.D. 41

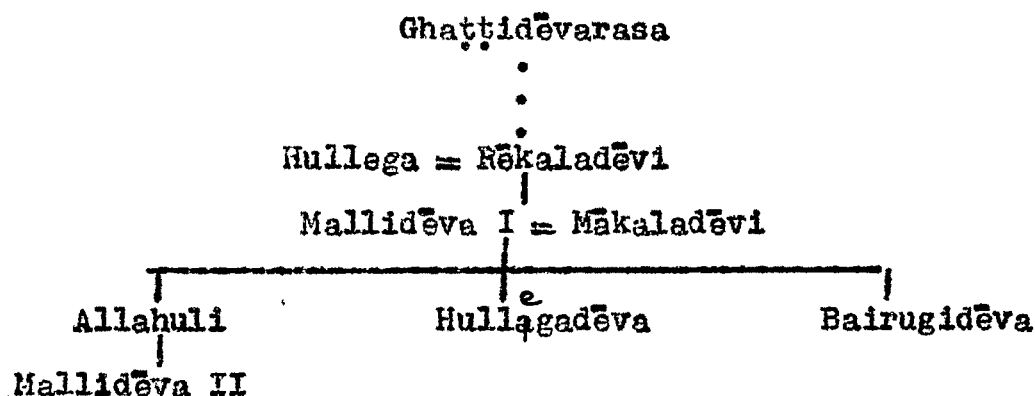
Allahuli also does not appear to have submitted to the Sāūna rule. But his successor Immaḍi Mallidēva or Mallidēva II, had to <sup>42</sup> do so. His inscriptions at Kawatāl of 1217 A.D. represent him as the trusted feudatory of Siṅghana II.

The relation between Allahuli and Mallidēva II is not specifically known. But the fact that he is called Immaḍi Mallidēva in the record itself leads us to the surmise that Immaḍi Mallidēva was the grandson of Mallidēva I and son of Allahuli.

No chief after Mallidēva II has yet been discovered.

The territory under these chiefs was known as Morāṭa three hundred. Morāṭa is the modern Malḥat<sup>l</sup> in the Manvi taluk. From these records it is known that Ayyanasirivura was their headquarters. This place is the present Sirwār, about 6 miles from Malḥat<sup>l</sup>.

The genealogy of the family may be shown as follows:



V. Haihayas of Aralu Three hundred:

Another branch of the Haihaya family was in power, contemporaneously with those of Moraṭa three hundred in the tract known as Aralu three hundred. Aralu, the headquarters of this division, is the same as Aralūr in the Sedam taluk of the Gulbarga District.<sup>43</sup> Inscriptions ~~from~~ <sup>where</sup> introducing to us this family state that Palakarate, i.e., modern Halkatṭi and Yingulige, i.e. Ingalgī were situated in this territory. These places are in Chitapur taluk, in Gulbarga district.

Like the chiefs of Moraṭa, they also claim to belong to the Haihaya family and <sup>call themselves</sup> the lords of Māhishmatipura. They also describe themselves as being born of the lineage of Ayyana (Ayyan-ānvaya-prasūta) though it is not possible to identify this Ayyana. It may be noted in this connection that the Haihayas of Moraṭa also call themselves Ayyanaāditya probably thus associating themselves to this Ayyana only. It is likely therefore that both the families belonged to the same stock.

The earliest known member of the family is Rēcharasa. He figures as a subordinate of Jagadēkamalla Jasyasimha II in a record of 1038 A.D.<sup>44</sup> The next one is Bijjarasa I. The relation between him and his predecessor is however not clear. He was the subordinate of the next Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I.<sup>45</sup> Next in succession to Bijja-

40 Ibid., 1960-61, No.B 557.

41 Ibid., 1953-54, No.B 258.

42 Ibid., 1957-58, Nos. 379-380.

43 Desai, P.B., Jainism in South India, p.215.

44 A.R.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 444.

45 Ibid., 1958-59, No.B 623.

46  
rasa came Bācharasa. The record mentioning him does not refer to the ruling king, its date 1071 A.D., indicates that he was the feudatory of Sōmēśvara II. Bācharasa's wife was Kālabbarasi.

After Bācharasa, <sup>47</sup>Ānemarasa came to power. We have two dates for him, 1096 <sup>48</sup> and 1105 A.D., both falling in the period of the next Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.

The next chief of this family is Bijjarasa II. He is not mentioned independently in any records, but an epigraph of Jagadēkamalla <sup>49</sup>II which introduces to us Lōkāditya, another chief of this family, calls the latter as Bijjan-āṅkakāra, i.e., the servant of Bijja. On the basis of this title it can be surmised that Lōkāditya was the son of Bijja. <sup>50</sup>Lōkāditya was the feudatory of Jagadēkamalla II.

Lōkāditya was succeeded by Ānemarasa II. Since he is also called Bijjan-anuva, i.e., the son of Bijja, it may not be wrong to surmise that he was also a son of Bijjarasa II and the younger brother of Lōkāditya. Ānemarasa II was the subordinate of Taila III and his <sup>51</sup>known date is 1158 A.D.

The next chief we hear of is Vīra-Bijjarasa or Bijjarasa III, <sup>52</sup>who figures as a subordinate of Siṅghana II. In an inscription of <sup>53</sup>1209 A.D. he is called the beloved son of Ānegadēva (Ānegadēva-priy

46 Ibid., 1959-60, No.B 439.

47 Ibid. No.B 431.

48 Ibid., 1960-61, No.B 505.

49 Ibid., 1959-60, No.B 440.

50 He cannot be the same as Bijjarasa I.

51 A.R.I.E., 1959-60, No.B 434.

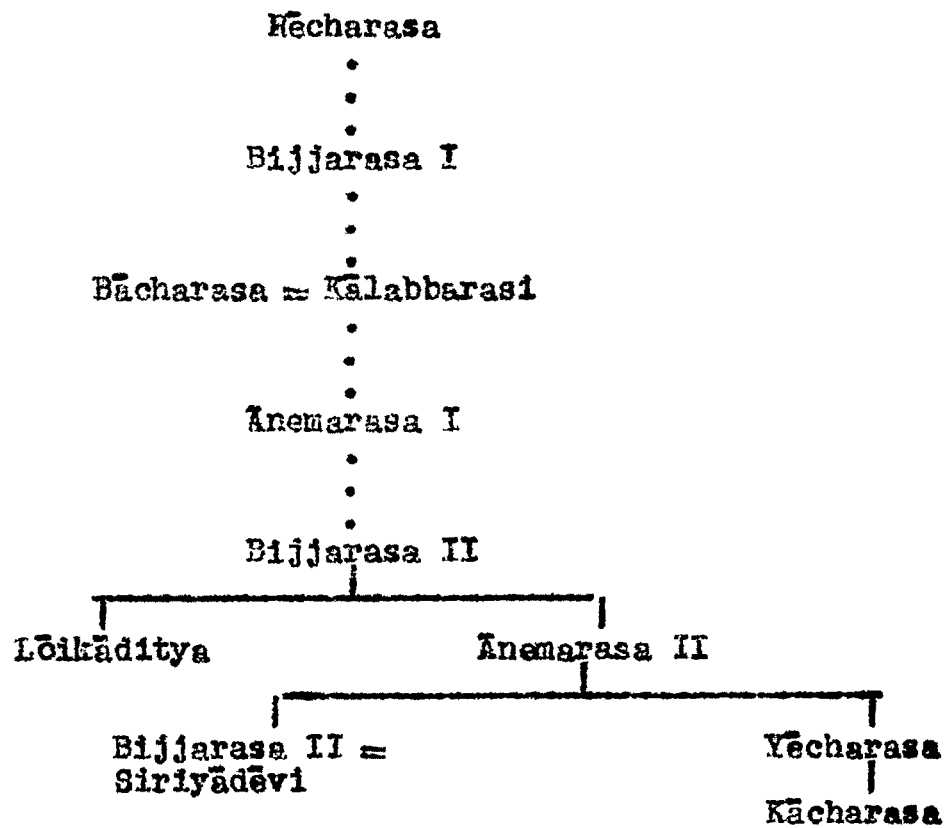
52 Ibid., No.B 438.

53 Ibid., No.B 437.

putra) and it is likely that he was the son of Ānemarasa II.

Bijjarasa's wife was Śiriyādēvi and the latest known date for him is 1321 A.D.<sup>54</sup> Ānemarasa II, it appears had another son Yēcharasa<sup>55</sup> and the latter had a son named Kācharasa. A record of 1212 A.D.<sup>55</sup> supplying this information states that Kācharasa made a grant to god Yēchēsvara at 'alakareṭe in Aralu 300.

On the basis of the above narration, the genealogy of the family may be shown as below.



An inscription from Nagai in Chitapur taluk of the same District<sup>56</sup> introduces a Haihaya family which also is associated with

54 Ibid., 1960-61, No. B 506.

55 Ibid., 1959-60, No. B 432.

56 Hyd. Arch. Series, No. 8, pp. 30 ff.

the administration of Araḷu 300 with the addition of Miriti-300. The record belongs to Vikramāditya VI and is dated in 1085 A.D. The record further states that Iōkarasa of this family was then the subordinate and gives his genealogy for seven generations in ascent. Though some names like Bijja, Ānega and Iōka are common to this family and the family discussed above, it is difficult at this stage to find out the exact relation between the two. A complete epigraphical survey of the Gulbarga District is likely to throw further light on the subject.

### APPENDIX III

#### Geographical Divisions mentioned in Sēūṇa Records

The Sēūṇa country embraced the whole of the territory known as Kuntala generally denoting the area between the Narmadā and the Tungabhadra<sup>1</sup>. The Arabian Sea was the Western border. In the east, part of the Andhra State including portions of the Kurnool and Anantapur Districts also formed part of it. In the South, the area below the Tungabhadra including parts of Shimoga and Chitradurg Districts was included. For the facility of administration, this country was divided into territorial units. Each such unit was divided into small units which in turn were further divided into smaller units, the smallest unit of administration being the village. Such units were named after the chief town or the headquarters of the unit. Generally with an affix of the number of the villages contained in the unit. Some times this affix used to be replaced by the general term such as nādu or dēsa. Below is given the description of some such prominent divisions.

1. Nalambavāḍi was the biggest division in the Sēūṇa country, comprising (of) 32,000 villages<sup>2</sup>. This division included the greater part of Bellary District and the northern parts of Chitradurg District in Mysore State and some parts of Anantapur District in Andhra Pradesh. The district of Kōgali 500<sup>4</sup>, with its headquarters at Kōgali which is the village of the same name in Hadagali

1 A.S.W.I., Vol.III, p.23.

2 It has been observed above (Chapter XI, p.29) that though scholars are not unanimous regarding the significance of the number affixed to the name of the territory, in all probability it indicates the number of villages.

taluk in Bellary District, was included in this division. Pūvina-  
 Paṇḍangi<sup>2</sup>te, i.e., the modern Hūvinahadagali was a famous agrahāra  
 in this district. A smaller unit of 70 villages known as Bikkiga  
 70 also formed part of Nolambavādi. The northern part of Davana-  
 gere taluk and the south-eastern part of the Ranebennur taluk along-  
 side the Tungabhadra river comprised (of) this small division. A unit  
 of 66 villages known as Aruvattārubāda was also a part of Nolambavādi  
 Bētūr in Davangere taluk was the headquarters of this division.  
 Bannavalli and Duggatti in Harihar taluk of Chitradurg District,  
 Bidire in Ranebennur taluk of Dharwar District and Uchchangi in Hara-  
 panahalli taluk of Bellary District, all formed part of this division  
 of 32000 villages.

2. The next biggest division was Banavāsi 12000. Jayantī-  
 pura, Vanavāsi or Banavāsi, the modern Banavāsi in the Sirsi taluk  
 of the North Kanara District, was the head-quarters of this division.  
 Originally the capital of the <sup>ruling</sup> ~~imperial~~ Kadam̄bas, it lost that posi-  
 tion in later days; <sup>2</sup> nevertheless <sup>2</sup> but retained its importance as the headquarters  
 of a division throughout the medieval period. This division covered  
 roughly the area between the river Varadā and Tungabhadra, thus com-  
 prising (of) the southern part of Dharwar District with Haverī, Byadgi  
 and Hirekerur taluks and also Ranebennur taluk excluding <sup>a</sup> small por-  
 tion alongside the river, which seems to have been included in Nolam-  
 bavādi, Sirsi and Siddhapur taluks of North Kanara District and the  
 Shimoga District excluding the portion below Tungabhadra.

Nūrubāda, a division formed of two divisions Raṭṭapalli 70  
 and Itṭage 30, was one of the smaller divisions of Banavāsi. Raṭṭi-  
 halli, now a village of the same name in Hirekerur taluk and Itgi in  
 Ranebennur taluk were the headquarters of these smaller divisions.



Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70 was another division of Banavāsi. Tilivalli, in the Hirekerur taluk of the Dharwar District seems to have been the chief town of this division. ~~where~~ Sudāmbi, Hirekērerur and Chikkerur in Hirekerur taluk, Nēvalgi, Kuppātūr and Bandalike in Sorab taluk and Bandalike in Sikarpur taluk of Shimoga District were some of the villages situated in this small division. Thus it may be said that the whole of Hirekerur taluk, excluding the area round about Raṭṭi-halli and adjacent parts of Sorab and Sikarpur taluks, formed this division.

Bāsavura 140 had its headquarters at Bāsavura which is now represented by two adjacent villages Chik-Bāsūr and Hire-Bāsūr in Hirekerur and Hangal taluks respectively. Kāginelli in Byadgi taluk, Dēvīhosūr, Saṅgūr, Kōlūr, Mallūr, Koṇantāmbgī, Hommarāḍi in Haveri taluk were some of the villages situated in this division. This division comprised of parts of Haveri and Byadgi taluks and small portions of Hangal and Hirekerur taluks. Kāginelli, was the chief town of Kāgānel 12.

The Kampana of Jiddulige known as Jiddulige 60 also formed a part of Banavāsi. Uddari and Hirekabbūr in Sorab taluk were two of of the villages in this division. Kummūru, another village which also was in the division, cannot be identified.

Beluhuge 70 was still another sub-division in Banavāsi. Guttal, the headquarters of the Gutta chiefs, Nīralgi and Kanvalli in Haveri taluk were some of the villages in this division. Beluhuge, modern Belvigi in the same taluk, was its chief town.

Honnavatti 12 with Honnatti in Haveri taluk as the headquarters, Bennevūr 12 with Moṭebennūr in Banebennur taluk and

Binnavura 12 with Hanebennūr in the same taluk as their headquarters, were some of the still smaller divisions, forming parts of Banavāsi 12000.

3 One other division <sup>of the size of</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>in</sup> that of Banavāsi was Palasige or Halasige 12000. The chief town Palasige is modern Halasigi in Khanapur taluk of Belgaum District. North western parts of Dharwar District, northern parts of North Kanara District and south western parts of Belgaum District formed this division.

Sabbi 30, a small division of 30 villages with Sabbi, i.e. modern Chhabbi in Hubli taluk of Dharwar District, formed a part of the division of Palasige.

4. Sēūnadēsa was the name of the territory governed by the early members of the Sēūna family before the family rose to imperial status. Hēmādri describes it thus:

Astē mandita-Daṇḍakāparisarah 'srī Sēūnākhyah param  
dēsah pēsala-vēsabhūshana-vachō mādhyah-dhuryākṛitih !  
Tasmin Dēvagirih purī vīlayatē trailōkyasārasriyam  
vīsrāmtih surāsāli-saila-sikhara-spardhishnu-saudhāvalih || <sup>3</sup>

On the basis of this verse Bhandarkar opined that this country extended from Nasik to Dēvagiri, i.e., Daulatabad in Aurangabad District. But it appears that the area occupied by this country extended beyond these two places, in both North and South. The Āsvi

3 Bhandarkar, op.cit., p.198, verse 19.

plates of Āirammadēva suggest that the river Narmadā flowed in Sēūnadēsa.<sup>4</sup> The Kalegaon plates add that the river Gōdāvarī was an ornament of the Sēūnadēsa.<sup>5</sup> Further, Svayambhu, in his Paumacharīṣa refers to Sēūnadēsa and states that Bhīmarathī was the 'veritable stream of nectar to Sēūnadēsa'.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it follows that the Sēūnadēsa spread itself from the Narmadā down to Bhīmā. Therefore, it can be surmised that the area from Narmadā down to Sholapur District in Maharashtra formed this division.<sup>7</sup> Śrīnagara also called Sindinagara, and Sindinēra, and identified with Sinnar in Nasik District was the capital of this country.

It is interesting to note that this Śrīnagara was also the headquarters of a smaller division in this country called Śrīnagara 2500 (śrīnagara-sārdha-sahasra-dvaya). It covered parts of Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts. In this division of Śrīnagara 2500 was situated the still smaller division of Sangamanēra 84 (Sangamanēra-chaturāsiti). The chief town of this division, Sangamanēra is the present Sangamner, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in Ahmednagar District. This place was also known as Saṅgamī, Saṅgami-kā and Saṅgamanagara.

Another small division which formed part of the division of Saṅgamanēra was a unit of 12 villages, Simhigrāma 12. It is difficult to identify this Simhi, though it can be suggested that the

4 B.I.S.M., Jr., Vol.III, p.4.

5 Ep. Ind., Vol.XXII, pp.42 .

6 Bhāratīya Vidyā, May 1961, p.

7 It may be observed that it is quite likely that Sēūnadēsa was in the beginning a small principality round about Sinnar in Nasik District and grew in size in course of time.

modern Shinde in Nasik District might be that place. The village Chinchuli states<sup>d</sup> to have been situated in this unit is the present day Chinchōli in Sinnar taluk, quite near Shinde.

5. Paliy<sup>a</sup>ṇḍa 4000 or Praty<sup>a</sup>ṇḍaka 4000 was adjacent to the Sēūpadēsa. This division comprised <sup>(of)</sup> parts of Osmanabad District with Paliy<sup>a</sup>ṇḍa or modern Parēṇḍa for its headquarters.

6. Like that of Paliy<sup>a</sup>ṇḍa, the division of Karahāḍa was constituted of 4000 villages and named Karahāḍa 4000. It was also known as Karahāṭā-nāḍu. Kanāmbade 300 was a part of this division. The chief town Kanāmbade is the modern Kanmaḍi in Bijapur taluk quite near the border of Satara taluk in which Karāḍ is situated. Thus Karahāḍa 4000 comprised <sup>(of)</sup> the southern parts of South Satara District and norther western parts of Bijapur District.

7. Kūṇḍi 3000 was a division comprising roughly <sup>(of)</sup> the northern parts of Belgaum District and the eastern parts of the Kolhapur District and probably a ~~very~~ small portion of the South Satara District.

8. Miringe 3000 was situated adjacent to Kūṇḍi division. Miringe which is the same as modern Miraj, was the chieftown of this division which covered the area round about Miraj in Kolhapur and Belgaum Districts.

9. The division next biggest in size was Eḍedore 2000 which covered the territory between the rivers Krishnā in the north and Tungabhadra in the south, comprising a large part of the present

Raichur District; probably, in fact, all of that District from about long 76° 15' to the confluence of the two rivers, some sixty miles east by south beyond Raichur'. 'The Egedore country took its name from its position; the second component is of course tore, 'a river', the first is ede, 'a place, a spot, a place between', and the whole word means 'a territory<sup>9</sup> between rivers'.

Karadikal 300 was one of the divisions included in Egedore country. Karadikal, the chief town is the modern Karadkal, a hamlet of Chhāvāni, the headquarters of Lingsugur taluk in the Raichur District. Mudgal was also a noted town in this division and it is called rājadhāni pattana. Navali and Halkāvatgi in the same taluk also were included in this division.

Moraṭa 300 was another such division. Moraṭa is the modern Mallat in Manvi taluk of the same District. A good portion of Manvi taluk included<sup>ing</sup> Mallat, Sirwār, which was known as Ayyana Sirivura, and Kawtāl formed this division.

Mosalikal 300 was still another division included in Egedore country. Māsalikal which is modern Mosarkal in Devadurg taluk<sup>in Raichur district</sup> was its chief town. Gabbūr in the same taluk and Ballatgi in Manvi taluk were included in this division.

Āland in Gulbarga District was a division of 1000 villages known as Alande 1000.

11. Sindavādi 1000 was the territory covering Alūr taluk in Bellary District and Adoni taluk in the Kurnool District of ~~Andhra~~

Andhra Pradesh. Chinnatumbulam in Adoni taluk was situated in this division. It is also called in some places as Sindhuvādi-vishaya.

12. Tardavādi 1000 was a division comprising (of) the major portion of Bijapur District. Indi, Sindgi and Bāgēvādi were included in this division. Modern Taddēvādi in Indi taluk was its headquarters.

Bāge 50 was a smaller unit in this division. Modern Tadalbagi in Jamakhandi taluk was its chief town. Kummasi 30 was another smaller unit. Kummasi in Sindgi taluk was its headquarters.

Mūvattārumbāda, a division of 36 villages, was situated in this division. The headquarters of this unit seems to have been Hirebevinūr in Indi taluk. Indi was also included in this division.

Tamba 6 is perhaps the smallest territorial unit so far found. The present Tāmbā in Indi taluk itself was the chief town of this unit.

Kisukādu 70 comprised of parts of Hangund taluk of Bijapur and Ron taluk of Dharwar District. It is not unlikely that it formed part of the Tardavādi division. Similarly, Muttage 30 with Mutgi in Bagavadi taluk as the chief town also appears to have been part of Tardavādi.

13. Belvola 300 was a famous division in medieval days. It covered the areas of northern parts of Dharwar District including Gadag and Mandagi taluks, eastern parts of Savadatti taluk in Belgaum District and eastern parts of Yalburgi taluk in Raichur District.

Kukkanūr 30, a division of 30 villages with its chieftown as Kuknūr in Velbarga taluk of Raichur District was situated in Belvola.

Māsavādi was a division of 400 villages covering the area round about Dambāl in Mudargi taluk formed this division.

14. Araḷu 300 was a division of 300 villages in Gulbarga District. Its chief town was the present day Aralur in the Sedam taluk. The villages Halkaṭṭā and Ingālgī in Chitapur taluk of that District were included in this division.

15. Puligere 300, a division adjacent to Belvola, was an equally famous division. The headquarters of this division, viz. Puligere, also known as Purigere or Hulgigere is the modern Lakshmēsvar in Shirhatti taluk. The area south of Belvola up to the river Varadā formed this unit.

16. Another division of 300 villages was Hagariṭage 300. The modern Hagariṭagi in Shorapur taluk of Gulbarga District was its chief town. The area round about it, including Tālikōṭe in Muddebihal taluk of Bijapur District, formed this unit.

17. Kolhapur seems to have been the headquarters of a small division known as Kolhāpura-dēsa.

18. Vēpugrāma-dēsa was the area round about Vēnugrāma, i.e., modern Belgaum.

19. Āmrādēsa likewise denoted the area round about Āmbe or Āmbejōgaī near Mominabad in Bid District of Maharashtra. The river Mānjrā flowed in this division.

20. Kālaḍi 96 was a division of 96 villages, the headquarters of which cannot be identified. Since Mantrevādi in Banka-

pur taluk of Dharwar District was included in this division, it appears that some portion of that taluk formed this division.

21. Mārudi 80 (was) comprised some area in Sholapur taluk in Maharashtra. Mārudi, the chief town, is the present Mārdi in that taluk.

22. Āṅkulage 50 comprised of the area round about Āṅkalgi in the former Jath State now included in South Satara District of Maharashtra.

A map showing some of these divisions and the boundary of the Sēūna kingdom is appended for reference.



## A P P E N D I X IV

### THE SOURCES

The sources pertaining to the history of medieval India are, as is well-known, of three categories - Epigraphical, Literary and Numismatic. For the history of the Deccan in particular, the first of these categories has provided good material. Epigraphical sources are particularly valuable and more reliable in view of the fact that the literary sources are too meagre to supply much information for a connected account of any period. Inscriptions, big and small, some written with a literary flourish and ~~some~~ others <sup>in a</sup> ~~just~~ <sup>style,</sup> matter of fact<sup>2</sup> are strewn all over the country and a systematic study of these naturally yields good results. Rightly, therefore, Fleet remarked that they are the 'only sure grounds of historical results in every line of research'.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, to be admitted that the 'inscriptions can by no means be said always to speak the truth much less the whole truth.'<sup>2</sup> 'Legends and exaggerations are often found', but it is possible to <sup>shift</sup> ~~wend~~ the grain from the husk. Most of the inscriptions are dated while those which are not, are datable, approximately at least, on palaeographical grounds and other internal evidences. In many cases, the data supplied by ~~some~~ <sup>f</sup> records are verifiable since the incidents narrated in one, are referred to in some others also. Moreover, the object of the author of the inscription being to put on record a particular event that actually took place, such as the gift to a temple, installation of a deity, the death of a hero or the coronation of a king, he has

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1 Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 1.

2 Sastri K.A.N., Op.cit., p. 19.

little scope to indulge in <sup>purely</sup> ~~wild~~ imagination <sup>ve</sup> ~~or baseless~~ <sup>statements</sup> ~~exaggera-~~  
~~tions~~ when compared with the author of a literary work. Thus it  
may not be wrong to say that generally the information supplied  
by the inscriptions is fairly authentic, though not accurate. Never  
theless, they are like 'brief historical narrations concise and to  
the point',<sup>3</sup> and 'serve as pegs on which to hang scraps derivable  
from other sources.'<sup>4</sup>

Inscriptions:

Regarding the history of the Sēūpas, it may be observed that  
the student has to depend upon ~~epigraphical~~ <sup>epigraphical</sup> sources only, the liter-  
ary sources being too scanty. When in 1896, Fleet published his  
monumental work The Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, which forms  
part of Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.I, he could examine about a hundred  
and twenty inscriptions belonging to the Sēūpa dynasty. But sub-  
sequently, thanks to the work of the Epigraphical Branch of the  
Archaeological Survey of India, their number has ~~been~~ increased  
four fold. The Branch started its survey work in the year 1926-27  
in the area formerly known as the Bombay Karnatak, including the  
Districts of Dharwar, Karwar, Bijapur and Belgaum which now form  
part of Mysore State. This survey yielded quite a large number of  
inscriptions of which many belong to the Sēūpas. These inscriptions  
have been listed in separate appendices to the Annual Reports on  
South Indian Epigraphy. Since 1945-46 when the Reports were made more  
comprehensive so as to cover inscriptions found in all parts of the  
country and <sup>these have been</sup> ~~therefore~~ named as Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy.

3 Imp.Gaz., Op.cit., p.53.

4 Derret, Cp.cit., p.206.

some records of the Sēūnas, though not large in number, have come to light, from the Maharashtra area also. In ~~the~~ recent years, with the expansion of the branch, the Survey of the former Hyderabad State, with its portions now included in the Mysore, Maharashtra and Andhra States has also been taken up. As a result, we have been able to secure <sup>a</sup> few more Sēūna epigraphs which materially add to our knowledge.

Of the large number of Sēūna records, only a few are published. About twentyseven of them have been edited in the pages of Epigraphia Indica. Those published by B.L. Rice in the 12 volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica throw light on the activities of Singhana and his successors in the area round about the Tūṅabhadra. The 1st part of Volume IX of South Indian Inscriptions contain some records found mainly in Bellary District. Publications like Karnatak Inscriptions (Volumes I, II and IV) <sup>I and II</sup> ~~and~~ edited by R.S. Panchamukhi and the last one by A.M. Amnigeri, Sources of Medieval History of Deccan, Volumes I and II, by G.H. Khare, Inscriptions of Northern Karnatak and Kolhapur State, by K.G. Kundangar, Sāsana parichaya by P.B. Desai, Selected Inscriptions from Maharashtra by M.G. Dikshit have all brought to light some more inscriptions pertaining to Sēūna history. But, it is to be noted that compared to those that have yet to see the light of the day, the number of published ones is quite small. Some of these records are reviewed here.

For the <sup>early</sup> history of the Sēūnas, we have to depend mainly upon the copper plate inscriptions and they too are only five in number. Of these, two have been discovered recently and they bring to light much new information. The earlier of them was found at Dēvalāli in Ahmednagar district and is now preserved in the Bhārat Itihās Saṁśōdhan Maṇḍal at Poona. This record belongs to Phillama

III. In addition to helping us interpret rightly a verse occurring<sup>5</sup> in Bassein plates this inscription reveals the relation between the Sēūnas and the Chālukyas. Bhīllama was reluctant to accept the subordination of the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I in the early days of his career. But by 1052 A.D., which is the date of the record, he had become a trusted ally of the latter, who gave him his sister Hammā in marriage. This is the earliest record to disclose this fact though it was known earlier by the Bassein plates. From this inscription again, we learn that Bhīllama helped Sōmēśvara I in defeating the Paramāra king Bhōja. He also captured the fort of Ēnakai, which was in ~~the~~ possession of one of Bhōja's generals.

These very plates contain an inscription of Bhīllama's son Sēūnachandra II also. This inscription confirms the statement of Hēmadri that Sēūnachandra<sup>6</sup> assisted Vikramāditya VI, in getting the sovereignty from Sōmēśvara II. The epigraph says that Sēūnachandra 'lifted up the Chālukya vāṃsa which was being drowned'.

Very recently, in the year 1960-61, a stone inscription was discovered at Bīchapalli in Alampur taluk of the Mahbubnagar District in Andhra Pradesh. This record is very interesting inasmuch as it indicates the consequences of Sēūna's siding with Vikramāditya VI. The aggrieved brother, Sōmēśvara II, was enraged at this act of Sēūnachandra and sent an army under his Telugu-Chōḍa general Chiddan to punish Sēūnachandra. The expedition, however, had no visible effects; Sēūnachandra and his master Vikramāditya VI succeeded in their efforts.

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<sup>5</sup> See Chapter II, p.54.

One other copper plate inscription newly brought to light is from Āsvi in Ahmednagar District. The plates were unearthed while ploughing a field in that village. These plates also are preserved in the same Mandal at Poona. This record belongs to Āirammadēva, the son and successor of Sēūpachandra. The name of this prince is taken to be Parammadēva by Fleet and Bhandarkar on the basis of the statement of Hēmādri. Khare, the editor of these plates on the other hand, read the name as Irammadēva. But the correct reading <sup>in</sup> of the plates is Āirammadēva and one of the reading of Hēmādri's verse seems to support this. The plates supply us the valuable information that, like his father, Āirammadēva also took sides with Vikramāditya VI, in the latter's struggle for suzerainty. They further indicate that Sēūpadēsa in his times extended upto the river Narmadā in the north.

The Honnatti inscription of 1124 A.D. is the earliest Kannad record referring to the Sēūpas and is also the earliest to associate them with some area in the Dharwar District, far to the south of the territory of which they were overlords. The record belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya VI and introduces us to Siṅghana I. It associates him with Honnatti. It further adds that he had under his charge the division of Paḷiyāṇḍa 4000 which is the area round about the modern Parēṇḍa in the <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ Manabad District. Thus, the epigraph tells us of the gradual spread of the Sēūpa influence southwards.

There was no record at all for Mallugi I, the son of Siṅghana, till one was discovered recently at Borāḍi in Sirpur taluk of Dhulia District.

With Bhillama V, the Sēūpas attained imperial status and from then they were directly involved in the struggle for power. Bhilla-

ma had to fight hard with his rivals. The Annigeri inscription of Sōmēśvara IV graphically describes how Bhillama had to flee from the battle-field unable to face the onslaughts of the former's general Barma. Another lithic record found in 1959-60 at Kollūr in Gulbarga District also speaks of the set back that Bhillama had to face at the hands of Sōmēśvara.

An inscription at Mallat in Manvi taluk of Raichur District discovered in 1960-61 adds some interesting details. Though Bhillama succeeded in establishing himself as an independent monarch we know that he did not succeed in occupying the area below the Malaprabhā. Likewise, he could not extend his authority in the eastern direction too. As the Mallat inscription tells us, he met a tough opponent there in the Haihaya chief Malla or Mallidēvarasa I who successfully challenged the Sēūna authority. It was only his son Mallidēva II who submitted to the Sēūna rule under Singhana II, as is known by the two Kautal records which are also recently discovered.

Bhairavādigi, Mutgi and Hipparigi inscriptions give later dates to Bhillama between December 1191 A.D. and August 1192 A.D. thus setting aside Fleet's speculation that Bhillama died in the latter half of 1191 A.D.

We have seen that Singhana II came to throne in 1199-1200 A.D. But there is a great discrepancy<sup>e</sup> regarding the regnal years given in his records. We have also seen that the records found in the northern parts of his territory reckon his regnal year from dates earlier than those found in the southern parts. The inscription at Dōṇi<sup>g</sup> is of much significance in this respect. Found in the southern part, i.e. Dhawar District, the record indicates that this territory was

conquered by him to about 10 years after he came to the throne and hence the reckoning from later date.

The inscription at Mankari is important for more than one reason. Dated in 1206 A.D., it refers to his conquest of Arjunadēva of Mālava. Thus, it follows that Arjunadēva had already been on throne by then. Therefore, the opinion that Arjuna's predecessor Subhata-varman continued to rule till about the 1210 A.D. has now to be revised. The epigraph further adds that on the date of the record, Siṅghana was on his southern march.

Three inscriptions from Aube, two published by Khare in the S.M.H.D., Vol.II, and one by Burgess in the A.S.R.I., Vol.III, supply us details about the Sēṇa-Gūrjara fights.

The Mēthi inscription is a later addition to the list of inscriptions of Kannara. The record, as it gives the genealogy even from Dridhaprahāra, is important in the study of the genealogy of the dynasty.

The Nidōni inscription of 1255 A.D. is an important record. It tells us that on the date of the epigraph, Kannara and Mahādēva were ruling over the kingdom jointly thus confirming the statement to that effect by Amalānanda Sarasvatī, the author of Kalpataru.

The Kālēgaon plates of Mahādēva gives the date of coronation of Mahādēva as 1261 A.D., August 29, though some of his records <sup>count</sup> ~~counted~~ his regnal year from an earlier date. The fact that he was jointly ruling for sometime with his brother apparently explains this phenomenon.

The Paithan plates of Rāmachandra are the earliest to inform that Rāmachandra seized power from Āmapa. The Purushōttampuri plate.

give more details about this event, describing that Rāmachandra achieved his object by entering the fort with his soldiers in the disguise of dancers. The latter again is the latest known inscription of Rāmachandra and of the Sēūna dynasty.

Of the two other inscriptions of Rāmachandra, one from Navasari in <sup>2</sup>~~Navasari~~ District in Gujarat and the other from Sopara, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, the former shows that the Navasari area was included in Rāmachandra's territory. As such Perishta's statement that it was given to Rāmachandra by Alā-ud-dīn becomes open to question. The latter record dated in 1298 A.D. supplies the interesting information of a grant being made to a mosque, thus showing the spread of Islām in the Sēūna country during the last years of the Sēūna rule.

Epigraphs belonging to the other dynasties who ruled in the neighbouring territories also are helpful inasmuch as they form the corroborative evidence.

If the Annakonḍa inscription of Kākatiya Rudra tells us of Sēūna Mallugi I's struggle with him, two other recently discovered Kākatiya records from Bīdar speak of the protracted strained relations between the two families. As the Sēūna records do for the Sēūnas, they too claim thumping victories for the Kākatiyas in wars against the Sēūnas. This only goes to show the uncertain results in the battles between the two powers.

The Anekore inscription of Hoysala Ballāla II is very important as it helps us in fixing the date of the battle of Soratūr fought between him and Singhana II. The recently published Mandhata copper plate inscription of Paramāra Jayasīkha-Jayavarman throws new light on the relation between Sēūnas and the Lōṭa chiefs.



## Literary Sources:

~~Among the literary works~~ Among the literary works, that of Hēmādri's Chaturvargachintāmani<sup>is</sup> of primary importance to the Sēūṇa history. The vatakhanda of that work gives the genealogy of the family from the very beginning - from Moon who is supposed to be the first personage, down to Mahādēva<sup>5</sup>. It is indeed true <sup>that</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~what~~ all Hēmādri has narrated is not just historical or factual, nevertheless his account has been of great help in reconstructing the genealogy of the family with <sup>help of the</sup> the available material from the epigraphical sources. Being far removed in point of time, from the early days of the family, it is understandable that his account is not always accurate or authentic in narrating that part of the history; yet he has helped us in filling a gap in the genealogy between Bhīllama III and Sēūṇachandra II.

Vyavahāraganita, a Kannaḍa work on Mathematics by Rājāditya<sup>7</sup>, is an interesting work. Though only incidentally, <sup>Rājāditya</sup> ~~he~~ refers to the cavarly of Bhīllama which participated in the battle (of Soratur) with Hoysala Ballāla II and states that Bhīllama ran away from the battlefield thus disproving the presumption that he died in that battle.

<sup>8</sup>  
The Sūktimuktāvalī compiled by Jalhana, who was a protege of Kannara, is another important work, from the historical point of view. Like Hēmādri, Jalhana also, in the introductory portion of his work, gives an account of his family wherein he describes how his predecessors served the Sēūṇa kings, as he himself was doing.

6 Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol.III, pp.191 ff.

7 See Kavicharita, Vol.I, pp.101 ff. and I.H.Q., Vol.IV, p.126.

8 Edited by Umbar Krishnamacharya (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No.LXXXII.

These descriptions, though few, ~~support~~ supply us some historical facts, which have been discussed in the pages above.

Amalananda Sarasvatī's <sup>9</sup> Kalpataru, a commentary on Bhāmātī which is again a commentary on Śankara's Śāriyaka bhāshya, is by no means a historical work. Yet a reference in it, to the joint rule of Kannara and Mahādēva, is quite significant and it is corroborated by a solitary epigraphical record.

<sup>10</sup>  
Nāsikakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri is indeed of a little historical importance, though it gives a legendary account of Dridhaprahāra whose historicity itself is not beyond doubt.

Some authors from Gujarat, though indirectly, have given us some useful information regarding the activities of the Sēūnas.

<sup>11</sup>  
Kīrtikaumudī of Sōmēsvara is one such. The author's object in writing this Kāvya was to eulogise his patron Vastupāla and naturally the account given by him is full of exaggerations, though not bereft of history. His description of the Sēūna invasion of Gujarat for instance, is fairly accurate though the result, according to him, was the retreat of the Sēūna army. It has been already pointed out that the invasion probably ended in a treaty between the Gūrjara (Vāghē-lā chief) Lavaṇaprasāda and Singhaṇa II.

<sup>12</sup>  
The Vasantavilāsa of Bālachandrasūri is another work of some importance. The primary purpose of this work which is called a

9 Edited by Anantakrishnashastri.

10 See Ind.Ant., Vol.XII, pp.124 ff.

11 Edited by Abaji Vishnu Kathawate.

12 Edited by Chimanlal D.Dalal (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. VII).

mahākāvya is again to eulogise the famous minister Vastupāla, in course of which he inevitably refers to some historical incidents such as the defeat and imprisonment of Lāṭa chief Śaṅkha at the hands of Siṅghana.

13

The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasimhasūri, likewise, supplies us with information about one of the attacks on Gūrajara by Siṅghana. Like <sup>that of</sup> the above works, the purpose of this drama is also to extol the greatness of Vastupāla and his brother Tējapāla, but the main theme of the work is the attack of Siṅghana with the connivance of the Lāṭa chief Śaṅkha, and the warding off of the danger by the ingenious plans of Vastupāla.

14

A collection of specimen-documents under the title Lēkha-  
paddhati contains illustrations of a variety of documents, the author of which is however unknown. The editor of the work comments: "The author of the Lēkhapaddhati is unknown but from his constant reference to Pattan and his habitual employment of expressions still current there, it may be surmised that he was a government officer serving in that locality. The book was evidently written as a guide to revenue officers and professional ~~letters~~ <sup>and</sup> petition writers, being a compilation of models of Government documents and specimens  
15  
of official and other correspondence suitable for various occasions."

We have noted in the earlier pages that the work contains the text of a treaty purported to have been entered into by Siṅghana and

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13 Edited by the same author (Ibid., No. X).

14 Edited by the same author (Ibid., No. XIX).

15 P.vii.

Lavanaprasādhā. A reference to the attack of the Vāghela chief on the Sēūna territory is also made in another document illustrated in the work.

For some aspects of the history of Rāmachandra, the works by the saints of Mahānubhāva school are useful to some extent. We have seen earlier that <sup>16</sup> Līlācharitra supplies some details regarding the civil war that took place between Āmaṇa and Rāmachandra when the latter killed Āmaṇa and suggests the likelihood of Hoysaḷa Narasiṃhas helping Āmaṇa. It is also seen that some other works of this school also furnish some minor details.

Two works from the Telugu <sup>area, one</sup> ~~country~~ in Sanskrit and the other in Telugu, are of some interest for Sēūna history. The earlier of them, the <sup>17</sup> Pratāparudrayasōbhāṣaṇa also known as Pratāparudriya by Vidyānātha, is primarily a work on Poetics. In illustrating the forms of drama, the author gives as example, the drama in which <sup>h</sup> his patron Prātāparudra is made the hero. In the course of the description of this hero incidental ~~references~~ are made to the conquests of the Sēūnas by him and his predecessors.

A mistake occurring in the commentary on this work by Kumārasvāmi, the son of Mallinātha, famous commentator of Kālidāsa, has given rise to the mistaken belief <sup>among</sup> ~~by~~ the later authors that Ganapati, ~~one of the later authors~~ <sup>one</sup> of the Kākatiya kings had a wife by name Rudrāmbā and that she was the daughter of a Sēūna king. The Telugu work <sup>18</sup> Śiddhēśvaracharitam, a 16th century kāvya by Kāse

16 Deshpande, Y.K.: Mahānubhāvīya Marāṭhī vāṅmay. Forextracts see J.I.H., Vol.V, pp.198 ff.

17 Edited by K.P. Trivedi.

18 Edited by K. Lakshmiranjanam.

Sarvappa, for instance, states that Mahādēva, the father of Gaṇapati was killed by the Sēūṇa king and Gaṇapati took revenge on the latter by killing him. Consequently, the (next) king of Dēvagiri offered the hand of his daughter Rudramma to Gaṇapati.<sup>19</sup> The editor of the kāvya tries to justify this statement and it has been remarked in the earlier context that his explanation is farfetched.

It is, on the other hand, certain that this statement is attributable to some mistake. ~~only~~ Vidyānātha, who was the contemporary of Rudramadēvi or Rudrāmbā, clearly states that she was the daughter of Gaṇapati<sup>20</sup> and Kumārasvāmi, the commentator<sup>is</sup> also explicit about it. If Gaṇapati had a queen by name Rudradēvi or Rudrāmbā, Vidyānātha would not fail to mention it. He, however, gives the name of his queen as Sōmāmbā. Only in one place in the commentary there is a reference to Rudradēvi as the queen (mahishī) of Gaṇapati<sup>21</sup> and the commentator adds that she entrusted her grandson Pratāparudra with kingship. We know, however, that Pratāparudra's grandmother Rudradēvi was the daughter of Gaṇapati and not his queen. The mahi in the commentary is obviously a mistake, possibly on the part of the copyist. This mistake has been copied through by Kēse Sarvappa as also the authors of Pratāpacharita by Ekāmrānātha and Sōmadēva-rājiya by Jaggakavi. Morco Polo also committed the same mistake.<sup>22</sup>

~~It is~~ <sup>It is</sup> recently <sup>in</sup> 1959, has been published a work by name Karadakallu ~~work~~ Mahāsivāsarāṇa Bhīllamarājana Purāṇa by Chandra-

19 Siddhēśvara-chaitramu, p 113.

20 Op.cit., p.149.

21 Op.cit., p.147.

22 Nilakantasastri, K.A. Foreign notices of South India, p.174.

23  
sēkhara Shastri. It is apparently based on another 18th century work known as Anbhavāsikēhamani by one Nārasimha who himself says that a work of Hāghavānīka has been the source for his composition. Shastri closely follows Nārasimha though there are some differences. <sup>24</sup>  
~~Through~~ A legendary account of Bhillama is found in these works; <sup>24</sup> but it is not in the least important from the historical point of view. Bhillama is here represented as a most zealous Vīrasaiva devotee.

Coins bearing in their legends the names or titles of the kings and sometimes dates also, are indeed a useful source of history. But they are not <sup>of</sup> much help so far as Sēūpa history is concerned. Some gold coins have been found in Rāchapatnam in Kaikkalur taluk of the Krishna District in Andhra Pradesh, some of which have been ascribed to the Sēūpa kings Singhana II, Kannara, Mahādēva and Kāmachandra. <sup>25</sup> Of the collection in Hyderabad Museum also, some are ascribed to these kings. It is also reported that three coins of Singhana have been discovered in Kharsia circle of the former <sup>26</sup> Raigarh State. All these coins are of gold and they are known as padmatāṅkas, since they bear the figure of a lotus on one of the faces. Reference has been made earlier to the types of coins current in the Sēūpa kingdom but it is difficult to identify these coins with one or the other types mentioned in epigraphical records.

The chronicles of the Muslim writers have become an indispen-

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23 Published by G.S. Hiremath of Mudgal.

24 See pages 24 ff. above for extract from Nārasimha's work.

25 J.A.S.B., Vol.XXI, 1925, Numismatic Supplement No.XXXIX,

26 Yazdani (Ed.), Op.cit., pp.804-05.

sable source for the history of the last days of the Sūnas. Though they contain more historical material, as compared with other literary works, they cannot at the same time be taken as history pure and simple. The authors of these chronicles being patronised by the invading Muslims, their views naturally were partisan and in order to <sup>e y 2</sup>pan~~geri~~<sup>ge</sup> their patrons, they even tended to overlook certain facts and exaggerated some others. Nevertheless, particularly in view of the fact that in this period the epigraphical records are almost absent, we have to depend on these authors.

Amīr Khusrau's work Khazā' inul Fuṭūḥ deals with the history of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. The work begins with the accession of Alā-ud-dīn and ends with an account of the campaign of Ha'bar. Amīr Khusrau, it is well known, was a famous Persian poet. The present work which is in prose is said to be most artificial in style and very difficult too. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar opined<sup>5</sup>: 'Khusrau finds his natural element in poetry, and the writing of prose to him was a work of effort; and, as in the case of the Sanskrit writer Bāṇa, this prose composition is a tour de force, intended to exhibit the literary strength of the author rather than one intended to give pleasure to the reader as a work of art or to convey information in an easy understandable form.'

Portions of the work were first translated by Elliot in his Vol.III of the History of India as told by her own Historians. But later the whole translation was presented to the students of Indian

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27 Muhammad Habib, Cp.cit., Intd. p.XVIII.

history by Muhammad Habib under the title The Campaign of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī being Hasrat Amīr Khusrau's Khazā'inul Futūh. In spite of the literary character of the work, the narration of Khusrau is very valuable because 'he was not only contemporary with the events which he describes but was a participant in many of them.'<sup>28</sup> We have seen earlier that Khusrau is more accurate than others in giving the dates for Alā-ud-dīn's campaigns in the South.

Zia-ud-dīn Barnī was a friend and younger contemporary of Amīr Khusrau. His work Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī which was written by him during the reign of Firuzshah Tughluk commences from the rule of Ghias-ud-dīn Balban and contains a good account of the history of Alā-ud-dīn, with which we are directly concerned. Barnī proclaims 'whatever I have written is right and true and worthy of all confidence';<sup>29</sup> but one need not believe this statement literally. Like the accounts of other Muslim historians his narration also contains defects of commission, exaggeration and the like. Extracts from this have been given by Elliot.

Wasasaf, whose real name was Abdullāh, also makes a reference to Alā-ud-dīn's first invasion of Dēvagiri in his work popularly known as Tārīkh-i-wassaf. He adds in this connection that Rāmachandra on his defeat offered his daughter in marriage to Alā-ud-dīn. The only other author who corroborated this view is 'Isāmī referred to below. Extracts from this work also are given in Elliotts' work.

'Isāmī's Futūh-us-Salātīn which is said to have been written'

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28 Elliot, Op.cit., p.69.

29 Ibid., p.94.



in 1350 A.D. is a long narrative containing the history of Muslims till the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. It has been seen earlier that he differs on many a point~~s~~ from other authors regarding the invasions of Alā-ud-dīn on Dēvagiri.

One other important chronicle is that of Ferishta whose actual name is Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah. He migrated from Iran to Ahamadnagar when he was quite young and later he went to Bijapur where he wrote his work Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimi which is generally known as Ferishta's History. He wrote the work between 1606-1611 A.D. when Ibrāhīm 'Ādi Shāh was ruling. The work profusely draws upon the earlier authors and he himself refers to as many as 32 <sup>of them</sup> ~~such~~. Though ~~thus~~ Ferishta supplies us with <sup>a</sup> volume of information, he is ~~is~~ not free from the defects of exaggeration and prejudice. At least so far as the Deccan history is concerned, it can unfortunately be asserted that he is less critical and therefore less accurate than has often been supposed and that he lapses into inexactitudes and platitudes which, despite the interest they inculcate in the reader, tend to decrease the historical value of the book. <sup>31</sup> Ferishta's work has been translated by John Briggs in four Volumes of which Volume I is useful for our purpose.

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30 For information supplied by 'Isāmī, I have depended upon M. Venkataramanayya's book Early Muslim Expansion in South India.

32 Sherwani ~~the~~ Deccan, p. 436.

31 Sherwani The Bahmanis of The Deccan, p. 436

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
A.R.I.E.	Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy
A.R.S.I.E.	Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy
A.S.W.I.	Archaeological Survey of Western India
B.I.S.M. (Quarterly)	Bhāratīya Itihās Samsōdhan Mandal Traimāsik
Bom.Gaz.	Bombay Gazetteer
C.I.I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Early Expansion:	Early Muslim Expansion in South India
Ep.Carn.	Epigraphia Carnatica
Ep.Ind.	Epigraphia Indica
Hyd.Arch.Series	Hyderabad Archaeological Series
Ind.Ant.	Indian Antiquary
Ind.Cult.	Indian Culture
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Kan.Hist.Rev.	Karnatak Historical Review
Kr.Ins.	Karnatak Inscriptions
K.S.P.P.	kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrika
M.A.R.	Mysore Archaeological Reports
Proc.I.H.C.	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
S.M.H.D. (Sour.Med. Hist.Dec.)	Sources of Medieval History of Deccan
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions

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Mērutuṅga:  
Nārasimha:  
Ranna:  
Rājāditya:  
Sharif Kavi:  
Sōmēsvara:  
Mahāindravyāsa:

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Manusmṛiti

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